

10/20/59

LAFAYETTE NATIONAL BANK
OF BROOKLYN IN NEW YORK
INSURANCE PREMIUM FINANCING DEPARTMENT OFFICE
81 WILLOUGHBY STREET
BROOKLYN 1, N. Y.

NOTICE OF DEFAULT AND INTENTION TO CANCEL

Mail to: DANIEL MANIES d/b/a
JAYE BINDERY
119 Lafayette St.
NYC

Re: Loan No. L3 510 20
Payment Due 2-29-59
Amount Due 47.23
Indicate above loan number
on your check or money order
Letter Date 2-25-59

To the Named Insured,

Our records indicate the referred to payment now past due has not been received by us. Since payment was not made within five (5) days of the due date a late charge of one dollar (\$1.00) is also due and is included in the above amount. If the past due payment including the late charge is not received by us within ten (10) days after the due date of the installment as indicated above, we will exercise our rights under the terms and conditions of the note and assignment executed by you and request the insurance company(ies) to **IMMEDIATELY CANCEL** your policy(ies).

Any payments received subsequent to ten (10) days from installment due date will only be accepted for credit to your account and without any obligation on our part to withhold or withdraw notice of cancellation to the insurance company(ies) by reason of your default. If notice of your default has not been sent to the insurance company(ies), we shall endeavor but cannot guarantee to withhold same.

NO REINSTATEMENT REQUEST will be made by us after cancellation notice has been sent to the insurance company(ies).

In such case a statement of your account will be forwarded to you upon receipt of the unearned premium/s from the insurance company(ies).

MAIL YOUR PAYMENT TODAY TO AVOID CANCELLATION OF YOUR INSURANCE.

Very truly yours,

LAFAYETTE NATIONAL BANK
OF BROOKLYN IN NEW YORK
Insurance Premium Financing Department Office

Copy to: **ABROB KATZ**
307 Eastern Pkwy.
Bklyn NY

The Britton 55 EAST 10TH STREET, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

January 28, 1959

Dear Sir:

I have thought long and carefully about the proposition you made yesterday, and I thank you for your kindness in having considered me for the occasion. But in fairness to the many other obligations that I am carrying at the moment - just that I should not accept your friendly invitation. Please have let me wait until next Monday I thought I should advise you to my time I know now that my answer could be sent back.

Very truly yours,

W. B. Baker

PAYMENT RECEIVED BY
DAILY WORKER & THE WORKER

PEOPLES CHAMPION OF LIBERTY — PROGRESS — PEACE AND PROSPERITY
 PHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-7954 35 EAST TWELFTH ST.
 FROM: NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Bordolence

	ACCOUNT	GROSS AMT.	DEDUCTIONS	NET AMOUNT
D A I L Y	SUBSCRIPTIONS			
	CASH SALES BUNDLES			
	ACCTS. REC'Y. BUNDLES			
	CASH SALES ADVERTISING			
	"WHAT'S ON" NOTICES			
S U N D A Y	SUBSCRIPTIONS			
	CASH SALES BUNDLES			
	ACCTS. REC'Y. ADVT.	✓ 25		
	CASH SALES ADVERTISING			
	"WHAT'S ON" NOTICES			
M I S C.	DONATIONS		11	
TOTALS				✓ 25
PAYMENT RECEIVED BY <i>adk</i>		CASH RECEIVED <i>1/16</i>	RECEIPT NO. <i>107 22745</i>	

PAYMENT RECEIVED BY
DAILY WORKER & THE WORKER

PEOPLES CHAMPION OF LIBERTY — PROGRESS — PEACE AND PROSPERITY
 PHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-7954 35 EAST TWELFTH ST.
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S U N D A Y	SUBSCRIPTIONS			
	CASH SALES BUNDLES			
	ACCTS. REC'Y. ADVT.	✓ 25		
	CASH SALES ADVERTISING			
	"WHAT'S ON" NOTICES			
M I S C.	DONATIONS		11	

APPAIR
ly and succulently THE RIB
we conclude ourselves tender
ways been the rib. Therefore
that the proper place has al-
heart - and whereas we know
dominated by affairs of the
of St. Valentine's has best
protest that for years the day
We the undersigned do

PETITION

WHY Pragmatically speaking
we don't have heart - -
- only ribs - - and by the
plateful

HOW First of all from
Adam - -
but ours are - -
barbaqued

WHAT "The Works"
Dancing - Festivities
Fun - Entertainment
WHEN St. Valentine's
Feb. 14th 8:30 p.m. Sat. night
WHERE 325 East 17th Street
(between 1st & 2nd Aves)
[Weissman]
WHO Sobell Committee

Americans for Progressive Israel

112 FOURTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

GRamercy 2-4747

BROOKLYN CHAPTER

January 20, 1959

Dear Member and Friend:

On Friday, January 30th, we are devoting the evening to a discussion of the indigenous and turbulent American phenomenon — "Integration." We are very gratified that the Reverend Milton A. Galamison, an outstanding and articulate fighter for Negro rights has generously agreed to address us on this vital subject.

REVEREND MILTON A. GALAMISON is Chairman of the Brooklyn Chapter of the NAACP and his pulpit is the Siloam Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn.

We are particularly interested to see how the American Jew has acted and reacted to the Negro fight for civil liberties, and the Reverend Galamison has promised to include this aspect of the problem. This meeting is a must for your attendance!

Place: Home of Carl and Shoshanna Appel
2004 East 13th Street

Time: Friday, January 30th - 8:30 P.M.

Directions: Brighton BMT to Avenue U
Coney Island Avenue Bus to Avenue T
Avenue U Bus to East 13th Street

Shalom,

Noam Isseroff
Moshe Katz,
Educational Committee

Charles Eisenberg
Chairman

CE:rr
Encl.

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1-1-41-9-2

Increased National
Assimilation?
WHICH WAY?
A MINORITY GROUP
A NATION?
THE
JEWISH
PEOPLE
FORUM

THE CROWN HEIGHTS FORUM
cordially invites you
to attend an
informal discussion

with
HY LUMER
Lecturer, Analyst, Writer
on
SUNDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 14
at 7 P. M.

at
32 Ludlam Place
Basement
Contribution: 50¢

To find Ludlam Place:
Walk down Montgomery Street
between Bedford and Rogers
Avenues.....

Handwritten notes on a folded piece of paper, possibly a document or letter. The text is heavily obscured by noise and is mostly illegible. Some faint, recognizable words and symbols are visible:

- Top left: "C. J. ..."
- Top center: "Y. ..."
- Top right: "S. ..."
- Middle left: "Y. ..."
- Middle center: "Y. ..."
- Middle right: "Y. ..."
- Bottom left: "Y. ..."
- Bottom center: "Y. ..."
- Bottom right: "Y. ..."

The paper is folded into several sections, and the handwriting is dense and cursive. The overall image quality is very poor, with significant grain and noise.

THE

ABOLITION

OF THE LEGISLATIVE COMMISSIONERS OF CONNECTICUT

What Reasons of
Are Advanced?

Advanced Instead of
Individual?

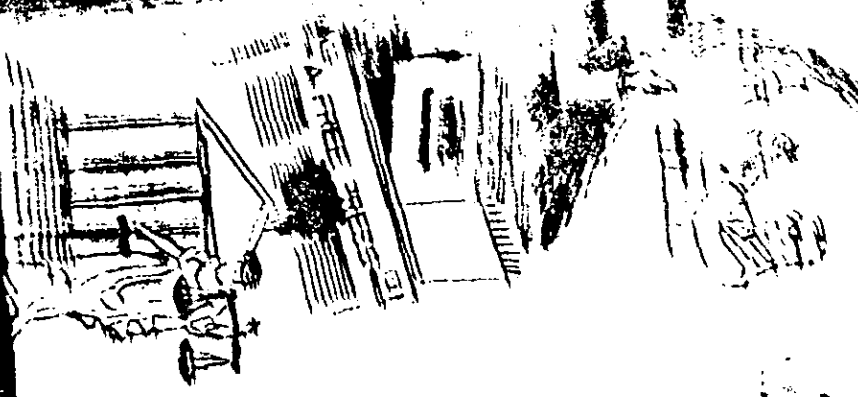
Dr. William Nassau
Is a Slave Still?

The Arguments
Now For: Them

Full and Free
The Inward Justice

How Do the Deeds
of the Government

What Says the
American People



NEW YORK

W. W. BROWN

As Sputnik began circling overhead, the Senate Internal Security subcommittee went straight to the solution of how the "Russians had obtained it. This third rate country of illiterate peasants could not have developed anything like a Sputnik by itself. They went to David Greenglass in Lewisburg Penitentiary and he told them what they wanted to hear: Rosenberg had given the Russians the Sputnik secrets.

If they were still alive, it is unlikely that the Rosenbergs would have been executed for this new crime. Something couldn't stand up. Even if the Russians had only been given partial secrets which helped them in their final development, it still indicated a certain minimum of scientific knowledge which enabled them to use our secrets and yet manage to overtake us. No, the Rosenbergs could not have been executed if too many people doubted, even laughed at, the Greenglass testimony--especially scientists, and they ought to know.

Greenglass' reliability is now in doubt. We can safely discount his testimony because he's in their power, his freedom or parole depends upon their good will. Wasn't this factor even more significant during the Rosenberg trial, when Greenglass' life, and his wife's, depended upon his testimony? We discount his words now when it's only a question of liberty; then it was a question of liberty and life itself!

His credibility is now in question? Then let us remember that no appeals court has ever reviewed his testimony to determine its credibility. The Circuit Court did say that doubtlessly the case against the Rosenbergs collapses if the Greenglass testimony is not to be believed.Greenglass had testified that he gave Rosenberg the secret of the atom bomb for the Russians, a secret which he had learned and pieced together by overbearing snatches of conversation, asking intelligent questions and putting two and two together, while working as a machinist at his job at the atomic bomb project in Los Alamos. It was Greenglass' testimony alone which was the basis for the unprecedented death sentences given by Judge Kaufman, for his refusal to grant clemency, and for President Eisenhower's refusal of clemency.

It is important to remember that nobody, no witness and no document, supported the Greenglasses' statements connecting Rosenberg with an atomic espionage conspiracy. Harry Gold, Elizabeth Bentley, Louis Abel and others did testify and support part of Greenglass' tale. But they did not support or confirm his testimony against Rosenberg. Had Greenglass pointed the finger at Dwight Eisenhower, the Gold-Bentley-Abel testimony would have applied equally against Eisenhower.

Everything depended on Greenglass' words; the Rosenbergs were executed because Greenglass was believed, because his words were considered true. Now that we've learned more about this Greenglass, now that the Korean wartime atmosphere no longer beclouds our vision, now that the hysteria of McCarthyism has diminished, dare we re-examine our past convictions and take another look at the Rosenberg record? Dare we look, when we might find the blood of innocents on our hands and on our conscience? Is it necessary, or even desirable, that we open this dark closet door from which ghastly skeletons might appear to haunt us? Is it not too late to do them any good, so why make the effort of examining?

These are important questions. It would be easier to re-examine if we felt sure of ourselves, if we felt convinced that justice had been done. We couldn't be troubled with the ~~xxxxxxx~~ pre-trial data from Ruth Greenglass to her attorney, that her husband, David Greenglass had a "tendency to hysteria", that once in a state of delirium he ran thru the hallway in the nude, screaming of "elephants and lead pants", that he would ~~xxxxxxx~~ as he felt the truth, we wouldn't be ~~xxxxxxx~~

coerced with his own pre-trial statement to his lawyers, that he had permitted the FBI to put words in his mouth and that he'd lied to them (in the course of the trial he supported his "lying" version). We could gloss over the contradictions regarding the console table and we could ignore the affidavit of his brother, Bernard Greenglass, establishing that David had stolen uranium from the government and that he had perjured himself during the Rosenbergs trial in denying this theft.

Because we are not sure of ourselves, we have hesitated to re-examine.

SCOPE OF

ST
ADMIN
ACT

United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

FREE

James D. Eastland

*A. Katz
1215 - 47 St.
Brooklyn, N.Y.*

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

ON
SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE
UNITED STATES

APRIL 27 AND MAY 15, 1956

PART 21

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1956

753

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY I

HEARD

BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

ON
SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE
UNITED STATES

APRIL

21

Printed for the use of the

UNITED STATES

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON

1956

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARING

BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

ON
SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE
UNITED STATES

APRIL 26, 1956

PART 20

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1954

Patra Agency Invites You To

VISIT

PARIS, WARSAW

and

THE SOVIET UNION

with Dr. Joshua Kunitz

Departing New York June 16, 1959

Returning from Warsaw July 23, 1959

30 Days in the Soviet Union including:

LENINGRAD, KIYV, ODESSA, YALTA, BOKHII,
TBILISI, KARKOV, MOSCOW and MINSK

Throughout the trip Dr. Kunitz will give lectures and lead discussions. In addition to sight-seeing there will be special visits to development projects in the Soviet Union and meetings with leading personalities in several fields.

All inclusive price: \$1,649.90

Round trip transportation by air

For additional information write:

PATRA TRAVEL AGENCY
665 Fifth Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.
Telephone: PLaza 1-5540

Dist. 100

USSR and to our own
by the sufficiency South
Korea, and by isolating
to bind China as an
oppressor after Mao's
betrayal or marching right
up to China's borders?

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By Peter Nicholas -- 1000 ...

FELLOW "GOD LOVED" CITIZENS:

Only under honest politicians the "God-loved" poor can bloom; For the sake of our freedom, happiness and contentment, in this election lets take the broom.

Let's begin, now, to prepare the ground; ... problems we must talk with each other; Honest men and women need to be found; "God loved" men and women unite! do get together.

Election time is our chance to express our will; Let's keep our eyes open and knees; And look at our white house and Capitol Hill; It's about time we begin an electoral sheep clean.

The deeds of "Proletarian and bourgeoisie" us look very sick; They resemble us as if though we were a flock of sheep; Our economy is going, far, into a fact, very deep; That means night-sweats, lumpy and nights without a sleep.

Follow "God loved" Citizens! Thirteen years rule of "twoedledee and twoedledee" is too long; The time has come for us to change the tune of our song.

The Capitol Hill at Washington D.C. is the Nation's Dome; Its the place where honest men and women politicians belong.

We can't expect to wait any more; The world cannot withstand another war. In this coming election we must not miss this opportunity;

Make sure to elect honest politicians, for the benefit of the whole community.

East side, west side, all around the Nation before the big guns begin to boom and before the "A's" "H" bombs sent us to our doom; on your way to vote take the broom; Just "twoedledee-twoedledee"; sleep in the honest politicians, under them the "God-loved poor" shall bloom.

All of us do talk, strive, and want peace and security; In this coming election all voters do have that opportunity; Find and elect honest men and women politicians and shall have a peaceful world community.

If you are "chuck full" of nuts and don't care how you spent your money ... then we say to you "that's your business"; but, if you are "chuck full" of brains and you smell the stenchy "Arooz" of coffee monopoly then, we say to you join the party for a delicious cup of tea, coffee and milk.

I pay allegiance to the flag of my country that stands for unity; for all "God-loved" people, if when "he has made so many of the

all of us do talk, strive and want security; In this coming election all voters do have that opportunity; Find and elect honest men and women politicians and shall have a peaceful world community.

WHY DON'T YOU?

The spirit of Nagasaki and Hiroshima's dead is alive and speaks; All Americans fail to recognize; That, people are logical human beings not guinea pigs; You seem to be curious, what you see it with your own eyes? In other words, what you do first so that you may realize? That atomic bombs when dropped from the skies; they do, certainly, pulverize.

The spirit of us, dead, women and children of Hiroshima-Nagasaki is alive; Telling you American women and children, our schools and families also the bees in a hive; awaken your hearts and ears with our honey;

Don't victimize your selves for the sake of money. So, fellow-American women and children for your own sake we designate; The episode of Hiroshima-Nagasaki so that you may see why; Now, it's up to you to take our advice.

While you'll stay and while you'll stay the chance; Tell your war mongers and political clerics workers; "peaceful co-existence is your only defence".

The only way to save you people is to talk, talk and talk mighty fast; So it now while you "k together" will in one place; call them, before the "A's" "H" bombs begin to blast.

Roll your war-mongers, all endangering your own lives; those men outside of a jail or a sanitarium, should be living, on this earth;

To peel the lava from a far off or above the skies; As release it come, to peaceful, innocent people, destruction's death.

Millions of your own ... while, at the same time reside in filthy slums; would it not be better if you work for you selves and build new homes?

All our war mongers; all of us have but one short life to live; All of us have but one little stomach to fill; Either Earth provides all for all to eat, to enjoy;

of "freedom and democracy" are a flock of sheep. In fact, in fact, very that means night-mare, worry and pain without a sleep. "God loved" Citizens' Thirteen years ago of "freedom and democracy" is too late; The time has come for us to change the tune of our song. The Capitol Hill at Washington D.C. is the Nation's Dome; its the place where honest men and women politicians hold.

We can't afford to wait any more; The world cannot withstand another war. In this coming election we must not miss this opportunity; Take our transient honest politicians, for the benefit of the whole community.

East side, west side, all around the Nation before the big guns begin to boom and before the "A's" and "I's" bombs sent us to our doom; on your way to vote take the broom; Oust "freedom and democracy"; Sweep in the honest politicians, under them the "God-loved poor" shall bloom.

All of us do talk, strive and want peace and security; In this coming election all voters do have that opportunity; Find and elect honest men and women politicians and shall have a peaceful world community.

If you are "chuck full" of nuts and don't care how you spent your money; then we say to you "that's your business"; but, if you are "chuck full" of brains and you smell the stench "around" of coffee monopoly then, we say to you join the party for a delicious cup of tea, coffee, or milk.

I pay allegiance to the flag of my Country that stands for unity; for all "God loved" People, of whom "he has made so many of them"; and see to it that human rights come first and, that, labor is not a commodity; and, that the dignity of Man is a God given right for all, regardless of race, creed or color; to participate in the making of a peaceful society; to secure and guarantee life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness to all and malice to none.

By Peter Nicholas, 143 W 62nd, NYC.

That automatic bombs when dropped from the sky; they do, certainly, pulverize.

The spirit of unloved, women and children of Hiroshima-Nagasaki is alive; Telling you American women and children, our screams and tears, live like the bees in a hive; Swallow your hearts and souls with our love; Don't victimize your selves for the sake of money. So, fallen-American women and children for your own sake we appreciate; The episode of Hiroshima-Nagasaki so that you may not win; Now, it's up to you to take our advice.

While you're alive, and while you're here; Take chance;

Tell your war mongers and political operators: "peaceful co-existence is your only defence".

The only way to save you peace; is to talk, talk and talk mighty fast; Do it now while you're together; Fall in one piece; and let, before the "A's" and "I's" bombs begin to blast.

Tell your war-mongers; "you're endangering your own lives"; thus, no man, outside of a jail or a sanitarium, should be living on this earth;

To pull the levers from a far off or above the skies;

To release "H-bombs, to peace full, innocent people, destruction's death.

Millions of your "A's" and "I's" bombs in white "glow" bombs;

While, at the same time reside in filthy slums; would it not be better if you work for your selves and build new homes?

Tell your war-mongers; "all of us have but one short life to live; All of us have but one little stomach to fill;

Neither Earth provides all for all to eat, to enjoy;

Why must you permit the evil in to your souls?

Human beings kill, to killed and your own homes destroy?

The creator has, even you, of all things; scorns and a pair of eyes;

To think, to see, to do good; to make this earth, for your selves a Paradise.

Oh, DON'T YOU?

By Peter Nicholson, 125 W. 101st St. N.Y.

Dear Mr. American: I'm so glad you have a Chinese sitting on your back... what would you say? After you see those 15,000 ships with the 16" guns sailing up and down the coast, threatening your country? Perhaps with that Chinese character, self poison, and highly idealistic; Here's what you might say! Hellowoooo... there... you... Americans! (waving your hand, you fellows... know, that, we Chinese are no trouble makers; your flag can sail and wave over our Shanghai, but not for your Wall St; Bankers; Your Merchant Marines can come to our sea ports; But, not on those ships that carry on the 16" guns aboard.

It seems that your Wall St; Bankers are mentally ill; however, for you Americans we have no ill will. On the contrary you have our admiration; for, you were the first ones that became revolutionary; you were the first stones to be charged with subversion; you were the first ones showed the whole world the human way of life; way, way, back in seventeen-seventy-five.

May you now raise your voice high and loud; to your war-mongers and to that Wall St; crowd? JAY ON TO THEM!

"We see no reason to fight any more; We want to live as well as let live; we want no part of your imperialist war.

JAY ON TO THEM!
No need to become a wealth-hungry-hound; Mother Earth provides all for all food to go around; to eat, to live, to be merry; without hate and without \$ worry.

JAY ON TO THEM!
Stop worrying yourselves to death; its a full span of happy life you want not the World's wealth. JAY ON TO THEM!

You can make life to be free and way; by using your tongue the easiest way.

JAY ON TO THEM!
Let's all be nice and fair; stop poisoning the atmosphere; we all need to breath the pure, clean air. JAY ON TO THEM!
might cannot destroy right; on the contrary, right by its self becomes might; therefore, you can't stand on the wrong side.

JAY ON TO THEM!
That the Chinese like to trade with you Americans; Buy and pay cash on the spot; But for God's sith consumer goods not with human blood. JAY ON TO THEM!
We are willing to buy your goods with silver and gold; and do business with you like it? Is done all over the World!

English boys, oooh you poor, innocent, boys; You lack the chance to hear the world's Peoples voice; Telling you, that, you, boys, are human beings, like you, not little toys.

English boys, oooh you poor, innocent boys; We, Cyprians, would like to have you understand; That, your war-mongers are mentally ill; They got you here from a far, far off land; And against your own free will.

English boys, oooh you poor, innocent boys; We strive to make you realize; That to be a soldier is to be a slave; But, if you listen to reason and take our advice; That, "RIGHT" by itself it becomes "MIGHT" (that's where you can become BRAVE); To live your whole life before you get in to your BRAVE. BRAVE.

English boys, oooh you poor, innocent boys; We, Cyprians, would like to have you understand; That, your war-mongers are mentally ill; They got you here from a far, far off land; And against your own free will.

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... have your own thoughts, your
own will; Bankers, your Merchant
... to our own part; But, not to
... carry on the 16 inch ...

... that your Wall St Bankers
... will; however, for you Americans we
... will. On the contrary you have
...; for you were the first to see
... revolutionary; you were the first
... to be charged with subversion; you
... the first ones showed the whole world
... human way of life; way, way, back in sev-
...-seventy-five.

May you now raise your voice high
and loud; to your war-mongers and to that
hell st; crowd? SAY ON TO THEM!

"We see no reason to fight any more;
we want to live as well as let live; we want
no part of your imperialist war.

SAY ON TO THEM:
No need to become a wealth-hungry-hound; No-
thor Earth provides all for all food to go
around; to eat, to live, to be merry; without
hate and without a worry.

SAY ON TO THEM:
Stop worrying yourselves to death; its un-
l span of happy life you want not the
World's wealth. SAY ON TO THEM!

You can make life to be free and way;
by using your tongue the sweetest way.

SAY ON TO THEM:
Let's all be nice and fair; stop poisoning
the atmosphere; we, all, need to breathe the
pure, clean air. SAY ON TO THEM!

Right cannot destroy right; on the contrary,
right by its self becomes right; therefore,
you can't stand on the wrong side.

SAY ON TO THEM:
That we Chinese like to trade with you Amer-
icans- Buy and pay cash on the spot;
But for God's with consumer goods not with
human blood. SAY ON TO THEM!

We are willing to buy your goods with silver
and gold; and to business with you like it
is done all over the World"

English boys, oooh you poor, innocent boys;
You lack the chance to hear the world's Peo-
ples voice; Telling you, that, we, Cypri-
ans are human beings, like you, not little toys.

English boys, oooh you poor, innocent boys;
We, Cyprians, would like to have you under-
stand; That, your war-mongers are mentally ill;
They got you here from a far, far off Land;
And against your own free will.

English boys, oooh you poor, innocent boys;
All you can do, os, chundering a big stick;
And all you can do, with your mouth, is to
eat; You have brains, but, you're afraid
to speak.

P. Peter Nicholas. 146 & 62 st; NY 10011

... all the unions you got in to you.
... TAVE.

English boys, oooh you poor, innocent boys;
If, only, you had the chance to hear the world's
... voice.

"Come home boys, come home" Don't go back-
wards, to wards the days of BARBAROUS
FOOLS. Come home boys, come home; come and
meet the freinds, here, where you were born;
Come home boys, come home, for here's where
you belong!

Come home boys, come home do not waste an-
other day; Come home boys, come home, here
is the loveliest place to stay;
Come home boys, come home, don't waste your
time away; Come home boys, come home,
come and meet the freinds you used to
play; Come home boys, come home, the only
place you can be happy and gay".

A GOOD OMEN

Fellow "God loved" Americans!
When looking for a home and you find
the rent and food prices too high;
It's because the lunatics need more money
to cross the "Dome", to built a road across
the sky!

Stop worrying, about homes; let's spent
the two billion for the building of an
airship; the lunatic landlords want to
claim the Moon their ownership.

From the Russians they must save the Moon;
Therefore, they must get there, very soon.

The lunatics love money, land and general
wealth; we, "God loved", love freedom, happi-
ness and all around health.

We mustn't let the russians, get of us, the
best; So, fellow, "God loved" Americans let's
gottagether, and, transport our own lunatics
to the Moon, first.

When the lunatic landlords reach
the far off Moon and discover, to their
heart's content, the vast sums of wealth;
And the vast numbers of ignorant people to
exploit, no need of them, to come, here, to
an Earth.

YOUR'S WAKE UP!

If it hadn't been of the late, constant
wars you didn't have to have a "WAKE UP".
Now, for the near future, coming wars the
ARTISTS (unless, of course, you wake up)
will scider a pair of wings on your shoul-
der to fly up.

Next time you head around Wall Street and
shake hands with a broker; its O.K. for you
to head the Wall Street from light. If
you don't, then, stand the Streets to find
a job that's not your own; you have to
... ..

I AM INNOCENT

-- Morton Sobell

WHAT DOES JUSTICE FOR MORTON SOBELL MEAN TO YOU?

To these individuals who signed the Appeal to the President for clemency or a new trial for Morton Sobell, justice for Morton Sobell means a great deal:

Harold A. Cranfield, legal counsel United Auto Workers
John F. Finerty, attorney in Sacco-Vanzetti and Mooney-Billings cases
Dr. Harold C. Urey, Nobel Prize scientist
Lina Emling, Nobel Prize scientist
Prof. Malcolm Sharp, University of Chicago Law School
Prof. Francis D. Wormuth, University of Utah
Prof. Stephen Love, Northwestern University.

These are a few of the thousands of individuals who signed the Appeal.

MORTON SOBELL, scientist, is an outstanding victim of the McCarthy era. On the word of a single witness, he was condemned to 30 years on charges of "conspiracy to commit espionage" in the trial that resulted in the execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. The witness who accused Sobell was a confessed perjurer who escaped prison by his testimony. Since his arrest and throughout his 8 years of imprisonment, Morton Sobell has fought to prove his innocence.

LIKE OTHER IMPORTANT CASES OF THE PAST

Warren E. Billings, who was named with Tom Mooney in one of America's shameful anti-labor cases, sees the importance of the Morton Sobell case. He says:

"I am a free man today for two reasons. First, I was innocent. Second, enough Americans cared about justice to work, search, investigate and pay for my freedom and that of Tom Mooney.

"Morton Sobell will be free. He is innocent, and enough Americans care about decency to set him free."

Warren Billings is now working on behalf of Morton Sobell.

Miscarriages of justice provide a climate of fear in which the civil liberties of each of us are endangered. This is why the labor movement, knowing that an injury to one is an injury to all, has always fought against frame-ups, as in the cases of Mooney, Billings, Joe Hill and Sacco and Vanzetti. This is why we ask you to act now for justice for Morton Sobell.

WHAT YOU CAN DO:

1. Find out the facts in the case of Morton Sobell and talk them over with your fellow union members.
2. Put the case of Morton Sobell on the agenda of your local meeting as other union locals have done. Ask a representative of the Sobell Committee to talk about the case.
3. Pass a resolution asking President Eisenhower to grant clemency or a new trial for Morton Sobell.

For information contact the New York Committee to Secure Justice for

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For information contact the New York Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, 940 Broadway, New York City. Contributions and volunteer help are needed.

S I G N T H E A P P E A L T O T H E P R E S I D E N T

By Peter Nicholas 1st's (NY) NY 10011.

...ing to vote? Take the bread with you,
...ing out the war & ... with
"God-lovers" of this, under the ...
... I am voting ...

"GOD LOVES" AND ...

Unless that hell direct ...
... and the White House got out; he needs
to play "GOD BLESS ..."

Mr. DULLES:

You said: "to harm to bring the world at the
... of war". But, while you are bringing the
... at its ...; he like to ...
... kind of stuff is that ...

TOUS:

If it hadn't been of the late, ...
you didn't have to have a ...; ...
the near future was the ...
course, you take up; ...
wings on your shoulders to fly up.

Mr. PRESIDENT:

...ing the condition of your ...
that point of view you cannot be ...
...ing the POSITION of ...
But, Mr. President, that ...
public ...; is, ...
become an Atlas and take the ...

All of us do talk, ...
...; in this election, ...
...; elect honest ...
... Party and you ...
... have a peaceful ...

... you're "chuck full" of ...
... how you spent your ...
... say to you: "that's your ...
... are "chuck full" of ...
... the steady ...
... say to you join the party ...
... cup of tea, ...

I pay allegiance to the ...
... that stands for unity, for all ...
... People of ...
... and see to it that ...
... and, that, labor is not a ...
... the dignity of man is a ...
... all regardless of race, ...
... participate in the making of a ...
... secure and guaranty, life, liberty ...
... result of happiness to all ...

... DON'T ...

The spirit of ...
... and it ...
... road ...
... ..

You seem to be ...
... your own ...; in other ...
... first so that you ...
... draped from the ...
... the spirit of ...
... the spirit of ...
... American ...
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Mina Goldberg
66 E 75
NY 3 NY
GAS-5391

Hella
425 E 12 St
YU2-2909

TWENTY QUESTIONS ON CIVIL LIBERTIES

You believe in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. But how do you feel they should be interpreted today, in times of domestic complexity and world tensions? The framers of this great nation realize that these short statements may not give the issues with absolute impartiality, but it should tell you where you stand on many of the American Civil Liberties Union's policies (which were iron all adopted unanimously by the ACLU Board in 1942).

To check whether you and the ACLU agree on the interpretation of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, try answering questions 1 through 20.

1. Civilian employees accused of disloyalty should have the right to know the sources of information against them and to cross-examine their accusers. **YN**
2. Public and other centers should be allowed to loan books and records such as "Ten Nights in a Trench House" or "Baby Doll." **YN**
3. Personal ability alone should determine employment, regardless of the applicant's race, religion or national origin. **YN**
4. The teaching of sectarian religion should be permitted in public schools. **YN**
5. The character of a soldier's Army discharge should be based solely on his active duty record, rather than on his pre-induction political associations. **YN**
6. State universities are justified in using a quota to limit enrollment by members of certain racial and religious groups. **YN**
7. Citizens should have the same right of free speech as other political leaders. **YN**
8. Trade unions are entitled to restrict their membership on the basis of color, religion or national origin. **YN**
9. Any private individual should have the right to criticize any government or government official anywhere in the world. **YN**
10. Police officials should have the right to listen in on private phone conversations. **YN**
11. Employers should be permitted to voice their views regarding labor unions to their workers. **YN**
12. Movies, plays and books should be suppressed if they present an offensive characterization of a particular racial or religious group. **YN**
13. Everyone who claims the privilege against self-incrimination should also have the right to remain silent. **YN**
14. Labor's right to picket includes the right to deny access to a workplace by force of numbers. **YN**
15. Segregation in public schools violates the equal protection of the laws guaranteed to all Americans by the 14th Amendment. **YN**
16. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country. **YN**
17. Congress should investigate political beliefs and affiliations in order to determine whether they are "un-American." **YN**
18. The Post Office is justified in refusing to deliver unidentified foreign propaganda material to certain addressees. **YN**
19. Tests of government employees' loyalty should be confined to sensitive positions involving military, atomic or information matters. **YN**
20. Public schools and colleges should require students to pledge their loyalty to the United States. **YN**

PLAY FAIR—DON'T CHECK YOUR SCORE UNTIL YOU ANSWER ALL TWENTY QUESTIONS. In the ACLU's opinion, you get 5 POINTS each for answering YES to numbers 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 15, 16, 19, and 3 POINTS each for answering NO to numbers 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 20.

IF YOU SCORE 75 OR MORE
 Then you agree substantially with the American Civil Liberties Union.
 It means you belong in spirit to the ACLU.
 Put your belief in civil liberties to work by joining the one national organization which fights—52 weeks a year—for the liberties you cherish. Use membership blank on the other side of this quiz.

WHATEVER YOUR SCORE, SEE OVER

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
 Founded 1920
 National Office: 170 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

ERNEST ANGELO Chairman, Board of Directors	EDWARD J. ERWIN AMMOND K. FRAENKEL
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES	BARFENT TUNNEY General Counsel
NORMAN THOMAS Director Emeritus	ROGER N. BALDWIN Advisor, International Work
J. E. MACAUGHTON Chairman, National Committee	PATRICK MURPHY MALLON Executive Director
RALPH S. BROWN, JR. ELMER RICE Vice-Chairman, Board of Directors	SCOTLAND WAITE Staff Counsel

**SAVE THIS QUIZ
 TRY IT ON YOUR FRIENDS**

"The American Civil Liberties Union is a useful and dignifiedly patriotic organization. . . . To require patriotism with conformity, orthodoxy, and name-calling is dangerous nonsense; and this cannot be printed out too often."
 —The New York Times

"I do not agree with a word you say," said Voltaire, but will defend to the death your right to say it! It would be hard to find a more watchful test of the genuineness of democratic sentiments than is implicit in this famous dictum. And it would be equally hard to find an organization that subjects itself to this test more often and more willingly than does the American Civil Liberties Union."
 —The Christian Science Monitor

WHATEVER YOUR SCHEME . . .

you have an interest
in civil liberties!

Protect it by joining

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION



The ACLU is the only permanent national non-partisan organization devoted solely to defending the Bill of Rights for everybody. The Union fights for the civil liberties even of those whose anti-democratic opinions it abhors. But the ACLU's mission is to persuade Congress to allayments of all Citizens' Liberties.

Today the ACLU with its Board and National Committee of leaders in every field, its twenty-four state and city affiliates (and their many sub-committees), its corps of volunteer lawyers, and its experienced staff, is engaged primarily on four fronts. YOU have a stake in the American Civil Liberties Union's fight in these four areas, among others:

- AGAINST those intractable federal, state and local measures which, though aimed at Communists, threaten the civil liberties of all Americans.
- TO ELIMINATE a second-class citizenship for Negroes, Chinese, Japanese, American Indians and other minorities.
- AGAINST both governmental and private pressure group censorship of movies, plays, books, newspapers, magazines, radio, and television.
- TO PROMOTE fair procedures in court trials, congress and administrative hearings.

The ACLU needs and welcomes the support of all those — and only those — whose devotion to civil liberties is not qualified by adherence to Communism, Fascism, KKK, or other totalitarian doctrines.

YOU ARE NEEDED TOO — as a member of the ACLU. The Union depends on its 40,000 members. Your enrollment has doubled in the past five years! For the sake of the Union, we need 10,000 new members this year. USE THE MEMBERSHIP BLANK BELOW to become a \$10 member, if possible, but JOIN... whatever dues you can afford. You will be assisting yourself with an important organization, and you will have a part in keeping America a home of freedom.

FREE TO ALL NEW MEMBERS:

The ACLU's national Annual Report on U.S. Liberties

All members of the following classes receive Civil Liberties each month and the Annual Report on U.S. Liberties, and are entitled to single copies of same if supplies currently available:

PARTICIPATING MEMBER	\$100
COOPERATING MEMBER	\$50
SUSTAINING MEMBER	\$25
SUPPORTING MEMBER	\$10
CONTRIBUTING MEMBER	\$5

Associate Members or \$2 receive Civil Liberties and the Annual Report. Weekly bulletins are available on request to contributors of \$10 and over. Members living in the following states and city areas also belong to the respective local ACLU organizations, without payment of additional dues: Louisiana, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wyoming. In any of these areas, your checks will automatically receive a share of local administration. (The same plan applies to all new branches organized.) The dues you give the larger the share. Be it greater or less.

All contributions to the general fund of the Union's National Committee

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
National Office
170 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.

Please enroll me as a NEW MEMBER of the ACLU.

Here is my \$ membership contribution, 50¢ of which is for a one-year subscription to Civil Liberties.

PLEASE PRINT CLEARLY

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

Zone STATE

Occupation

"WHAT ARE WE WORRIED ABOUT?" and "HOW THE PEOPLE FEEL ABOUT COMMUNISM AND CIVIL LIBERTIES" by Samuel A. Stouffer, Professor of Sociology at Harvard University, are the two articles appearing in LOOK Magazine, March 22 and April 5 issues, from which these statistics are quoted.

While Professor Stouffer alone assumed the responsibility for the articles they are based on "one of the most searching public-opinion surveys ever conducted in the United States. Under a \$125,000 grant from the Fund for the Republic, the study was planned by Frank Stanton, President CBS; Logan Wilson, President, University of Texas; Roscoe Drummond, New York Herald Tribune; Porter Chandler, attorney; Prof. Paul Lazarsfeld, Columbia; Prof. Alexander Leighton, Cornell. I (Dr. Stouffer) was privileged to serve as chairman." (quoted from the first article)

"Identical questions were asked by two leading organizations (the American Institute of Public Opinion, the "Callup Poll," and the National Opinion Research Center) who worked independently of each other. Each organization conducted detailed interviews, which lasted well over an hour each with its own carefully selected sample of approximately 2,500 Americans. At the same time 1,500 community leaders were interviewed—to see how their opinions might differ from those of the American public-at-large." (quoted from statement by the Editors in the first article.)

With regard to the Leaders interviewed, 113 selected towns and cities, each of the following was interviewed: the mayor, president of the Chamber of Commerce, chairman of the Community Chest, president of a labor union, chairman of both the Republican and the Democratic County Central Committee, commander of the largest American Legion post, president of the local council of Parent-Teacher Associations, regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution, president of the Bar Association and the publisher of the newspaper with the largest circulation." (quoted from the first article)

THESE STATISTICS ARE AN ILLUSTRATION CITED BY ONE OF THE MAIN SPEAKERS AT THE CONFERENCE, Dr. Raymond Bauer, Research Associate, Center for International Studies, M.I.T., and lecturer on social psychology, Harvard University, AND BELIEVING THAT THEY REFLECT ATTITUDES WHICH ARE MOST IMPORTANT TO CONSIDER CAREFULLY AS WE PLAN THE FREEDOM AGENDA WORKSHOP OR AS WE PARTICIPATE IN IT, I HAVE MICROGRAPHED SOME OF THEM SO THAT YOU CAN CONSIDER THEM LATER AT YOUR CONVENIENCE.

<u>WHAT ARE WE WORRIED ABOUT?</u>	<u>PUBLIC</u>	<u>LEADERS</u>
Personal and Family : Economic Problems	43%	28%
Personal and Family: Health Problems	24%	16%
Other personal and family problems	30%	38%
<u>World Problems, including war</u>	<u>8%</u>	<u>22%</u>
<u>Other national and local problems</u>	<u>6%</u>	<u>25%</u>
<u>Communists or civil liberties</u>	<u>1%</u>	<u>5%</u>
Never worry	6%	11%

The polls were begun when national interest in the Army-McCarthy hearings was at its most intense peak; yet in spite of the daily headlines and television coverage, less than 1% of the American public themselves volunteered any concern about the internal Communist threat. The concern of Americans over civil liberties seems to be even lower: Only 20 out of almost 5000 persons volunteered any mention of matters (then prominent in the news) such as the treatment of witnesses before committees in Washington, challenges to the loyalty of educators and scientists, local vigilante action, etc.

After the interviewers asked a directly pointed question, deliberately designed to cue people into expressing opinions about political problems 52% in the cross section had nothing to add! The number who NOW expressed a concern about world affairs rose from 6% to 30%, even though their concern often seemed to be expressed matter-of-factly: "Oh, yes, I'd say I'm concerned about what's going on in the world."

The number of people who NOW mentioned the internal Communist threat rose from less than 1% to 6%.

The number who now mentioned a concern over civil liberties rose to 2%.

Of the community leaders 50% now expressed concern about world affairs. Whereas only a few had first indicated any concern over Communists, now 14% did. As for civil liberties, the number now rose--to 3%.

On specific questions regarding FREEDOM OF SPEECH 87% felt as free as always to speak freely. 13% did not.

In order to see what their concept of freedom of speech was other questions were asked the results of which are demonstrated on the following page:

VIEWS & COMMENTS

PUBLISHED BY THE LIBERTARIAN LEAGUE

813 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 3, N. Y. □ BOX 949, 920 THIRD AVENUE, SEATTLE 4, WASH.

November-December 1955

Number Nine

THE SPANISH UNDERGROUND UNIONS SPEAK OUT

A Plenum of Regional Committees of the National Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.) was held "somewhere in Spain" on Sept. 24-25 last. All regions, excepting one, were represented by delegations. The Plenum expressed satisfaction with the work and with the positions taken by the Spanish Libertarian Movement in exile. Plans were made for continuing and intensifying the activities of the underground movement along the same general lines as in the recent period. Two new underground regional newspapers are to be published.

A strong resolution was approved, in which the underground C.N.T. condemns the attitude of the democratic powers, as well as that of all who temporize with Franco's regime. They declare that neither the Spanish working class, nor the Spanish people as a whole, will accept any whitewash of Franco's dictatorship which was established through the open support of Hitler and Mussolini. In conclusion, the resolution declares: "The C.N.T. maintains an independent attitude vis-a-vis any bloc of powers, allied for purposes of war or imperialism, and declares its complete support of peace among the peoples and of international solidarity of the workers over and beyond all differences of race, belief, or political or social systems."

WHAT WE STAND FOR

Two great power blocs struggle for world domination. Neither of these represents the true interests and welfare of Humanity. Their conflict threatens mankind with atomic destruction. Underlying both of these blocs are institutions that breed exploitation, inequality and oppression.

Without trying to legislate for the future we feel that we can indicate the general lines along which a solution to these problems can be found.

The exploitative societies of today must be replaced by a new libertarian world which will proclaim — *Equal freedom for all in a free socialist society.* "Freedom" without socialism leads to privilege and injustice; "Socialism" without freedom is totalitarianism.

The monopoly of power which is the state must be replaced by a world-wide federation of free communities, labor councils and/or co-operatives operating according to the principles of free agreement. The government of men must be replaced by a functional society based on the administration of things.

Centralism, which means regimentation from the top down must be replaced by federalism which means co-operation from the bottom up.

THE LIBERTARIAN LEAGUE will not accept the old socio-political clichés, but will boldly explore new roads while examining anew the old movements, drawing from them all, that which time and experience has proven to be valid.

LIBERTARIAN FORUM

ROUND TABLE YOUTH DISCUSSIONS
Every Friday at 8

LIBERTARIAN CENTER

813 Broadway (between 11th & 12th Sts.)
New York City

CONCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL REVOLUTION

The following extracts are from "1917 - The Russian Revolution Re-
viewed." Copies of the book can be obtained by writing to Views and
Comments. Price \$3.50

As a general rule, an erroneous interpretation - or, more
often, one that was deliberately inaccurate - pretended that
the libertarian conception implied the absence of all organiza-
tions. Nothing is further from the truth. It is a question,
not of 'organization or non-organization', but of TWO DIFFERENT
PRINCIPLES OF ORGANIZATION.

All revolutions necessarily begin in a more or less sponta-
neous manner, therefore in a confused, chaotic way. It goes
without saying - and the libertarians understood this as well
as the others - that if a revolution remains in that primitive
stage, it will fail. Immediately after the spontaneous impetus,
the principle of organization has to intervene in a revolution
as in all other human activity. And it is then that the grave
question arises: What should be the manner and basis of this
organization?

One school maintains that a central directing group - an
'elite' group - ought to be formed to take in hand the whole
work, lead it according to its conception, impose the latter
on the mass collectivity, establish a government and organize
the state, dictate its will to the populace, impose its 'laws' by
force and violence, combat, suppress and even eliminate those
who are not in agreement with it.

Their opponents (the Anarchists) consider that such a concep-
tion is absurd, contrary to the fundamental principles of hu-
man evolution and, in the least analysis, more than sterile -
and harmful to the work undertaken. Naturally, the Anarchists
say, it is necessary that society be organized. But this organ-
ization should be done freely, socially and, certainly, from
the bottom. The principle of organization should arise, not
from a center created in advance to monopolize the whole and
impose itself upon it, but - what is exactly the opposite -
from all quarters, to lead to points of co-ordination, natural
centers designed to serve all these quarters.

Of course it is necessary that the organizing spirit, that
the basis of carrying on organization - the 'elite' - should
intervene, but, in every place and under all circumstances,
all these valuable humans should freely participate in the com-
mon work, AS TRUE COLLABORATORS AND NOT AS DICTATORS.

It is necessary that they, especially, create an example and
employ themselves in grouping, co-ordinating, organizing, using
good will, initiative and knowledge, and all the capacities and
aptitudes without dominating, subjugating or oppressing anyone.
Such individuals would be TRUE ORGANIZERS and theirs would be
A TRUE ORGANIZATION, fertile and solid because it would be na-
tural, human and effectively progressive.

" whereas the other 'organization', IMITATING THAT OF THE OLD SOCIETY OF OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION AND, THEREFORE, ADAPTED TO THOSE TWO GOALS, would be sterile and unstable, because it would not conform to the new purposes and, therefore, would not be at all progressive."

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" According to the libertarian thesis, it is the labouring masses themselves who, by means of the various class organizations, factory committees, industrial and agricultural unions, co-operatives et cetera, federated and centralized ON A BASIS OF REAL NEEDS, should apply themselves everywhere to solving the problems of waging the revolution. By their powerful and fertile action, because they are free and conscious, they should co-ordinate their efforts throughout the whole country.

" As for the 'elite', their role, according to the libertarians, is to HELP the masses, enlighten them, teach them, give them the necessary advice, impel them to take the initiative, provide them with an example and support them in their action - BUT NOT DIRECT THEM GOVERNMENTALLY.

" The libertarians hold that a favorable solution of the problems of the revolution can result only from the freely and consciously collective and united work of millions of men and women who bring to it and harmonize in it, all the variety of their needs and interests, their strength and capacities, their gifts, aptitudes, inclinations, professional knowledge and understanding.

" By the natural interplay of their economic, technical and social organizations, and with the help of the 'elite' and, in case of need, under the protection of their freely organized armed forces, the labouring masses should, in the view of the libertarians, be able to carry effectively forward and progressively arrive at the practical achievement of their tasks."

#####

Pertinent to the subject discussed above are these lines from Rudolf Rocker's "Nationalism and Culture" -

" Federalism is organic collaboration of all social forces towards a common goal on the basis of covenants freely arrived at. Federalism is not disintegration of creative activity, not chaotic running hither and thither; it is the united work and effort of all members for the freedom and welfare of all. ... Monopoly of power must disappear, together with monopoly of property, that men may be eased of the weight which vests like a mountain on their souls and cripples the wings of the spirit... The sense of dependence on a higher power, that source of all religious and political bondage which ever chains man to the past and blocks the path to a brighter future will yield place to an enlightenment which makes man himself the master of his fate."

LESSONS OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

Many of the great lessons of the Spanish Revolution are to be found in the exemplary lives of the thousands of revolutionary workers - most of them anonymous - who lived and died for it. In this issue, "Life and Combat" reprints in translation from "CNT" of Toulouse (16 Oct. 51), the obituary notice of one of those comrades who recently died in exile. The movement which produced such revolutionaries can never be definitively crushed. Such a revolution must ultimately triumph.

SEBASTIAN BOLTAINA

Anarchists have a way of dying where they stand, like the trees, without ever having been cut down. It was so that our old comrade Sebastian Boltaina ended his days in the General Hospital of Montpellier, on Sept. 20th, after a long and difficult illness.

He has bequeathed us, through his funeral, an intimate, vital affair without flourish or ostentation, of the kind which least requires any fulfillment. One of the comrades who has left us on the life of our departed friend. The Local Federation of the CNT in Montpellier and the International Anarchist movement have had much to do with his passing.

Boltaina was a man of self-education and a defender of our anti-statism. He was a man of high example and kindly manner. His early youth was spent in France - mostly in Paris, where he came to know the ideas to which he later devoted all of his energies. He was well liked by all who came into contact with him.

When the so-called republic was proclaimed in 1931, he realized that the moment had come for a great forward surge on the part of the CNT. Now was the time to advance the ideals of that organization with honor and vigor and intensified activity. He returned to Spain throwing himself completely into the struggle. The role of the political character of the republic was first becoming obvious as the masses of the Iberian people underwent ever greater hunger and privation.

Boltaina redoubled his efforts in humanity's cause and suffered repeated persecutions. But threats and persecution did not deter him. He fought on in the underground with the will and persistence that characterize those who are dedicated to the overthrow of tyranny, stoically and with enthusiasm, he overcame obstacles.

July 19th, 1936 arrived and comrade Boltaina was among the many thousands who did not rest until the fascist rebellion had been crushed in Catalonia. He then moved to Valderrobres (Prov. of Teruel) to help organize the agricultural collectives.

He found satisfaction in working tirelessly with other comrades, laying the foundations of the new society. Later, the borders of the Stalinist USSR, incapable of constructive activity, themselves and jealous of the impressive achievement of the CNT, assaulted the collectives and impounded the members of their councils, who only escaped the clutches

squads of the "Choka" thanks to the protests of the whole labor movement. Comrade Boltaina had been among those marked for death.

In exile, Comrade Boltaina never lost contact with the other comrades who continued working for the ideals of the Revolution. Of recent years, his health began to fail as a result of his great exertions. Common sense would have dictated repose but his pride would not allow him to be a burden to others. He would not stop working and this aggravated the ailments which carried him off to a premature grave.

What an exemplary life this comrade lived! His mind was clear to the very last moment. He left his savings to S.I.A. (Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista) to be used for the needy of the movement.

Rest in peace, Comrade Boltaina. The libertarian seed that you have sown throughout your life and with your unimpeachable conduct, will germinate and in the near future bear fruits of victory for social justice.

Our sense of loss is united with that of Comrade Boltaina's relatives in Spain.

The Libertarian Federation of Montpellier (France)

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FROM THE ANARCHIC SYNDICALISTS OF ARGENTINA

Calculating the inevitable downfall of the fascist regime, FORA (Federacion Obrera Revolucionaria Argentina) warns that the new rulers of the country are no more to be trusted than those whom they replaced. The workers must be wary of all who would use them and their industrial organizations as tools in the struggle for political power. The political parties are engaged in a mad scramble for the electoral votes controlled by Peron's old labor front, the CGT. And the rank and file of that union still contain nuclei of misguided "whitened ones" who have yet to be shown that no savignos, whether millionaires, like Peron, or just military, like the new CGT, can give them shirts without ruining them.

On Sept. 22, 1955 the FORA council of the province of Buenos Aires issued a manifesto which declares, in part: "Revolutions must have social content. They are not effected by 'coups', by military operations or by homicidal violence let loose from above. The FORA insists that the workers must rely on their own economic power. Their place is with those truly revolutionary organizations which foster in their membership a feeling for freedom, for individual worth and, for the dignity of useful labor. Therefore, the FORA calls upon all workmen to join its ranks - that they may carry on their fight, unshaken by 'leaders' who invariably betray them..."

After a half century of active existence, the FORA stands out as the one organization in all the land whose record has been consistently libertarian and free of opportunism. Its anarchist militancy inspired it against corruptibility and invests it with an emancipating force of a high order... The FORA re-affirms its traditional stand that the daily struggle for immediate economic gains must be accompanied by a long term struggle for the abolition of all political and capitalist power."

OUR INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT

The Libertarian Association of Cuba - ALC

The Libertarian Association of Cuba has approximately 1,000 members throughout the country. Most of these are organized in syndical groups by industry, although quite a few of them, especially in the small towns, operate individually.

Our principal work and our main influence is in the organized labor movement, and the majority of our members are active in labor unions. We also have a number of student members in secondary schools. In various places outside of Havana, our members are active in other types of organizations - neighborhood associations, recreational organizations etc.

In each labor organization where our Association has members, they form a syndical group to work within it. Sometimes the syndical groups include workers who, although not members of our Association, accept our general orientation.

In this manner, our position finds expression in about a hundred local unions throughout the island, where we share the leadership with other elements. We have minority representation in the leadership of the 5 Provincial Labor Federations and in 10 of the National Federations of Industry. Two of our comrades are on the Executive Committee of the National Confederation of Workers (Confederacion de Trabajadores de Cuba - CTC)

As regards the organization of the ALC itself, there are groups or Local Associations in each locality where we have members. These local groups maintain relations directly one with the other and, also, with the National Council located in Havana, which is composed of representatives of the local Associations and groups.

We have usually been able to publish a newspaper of our own, which was suppressed after Batista seized power on March 10, 1952. However, our voice is still heard through Solidaridad Gastronomic, a paper published by our syndical group in the food workers' industry, where we have our strongest foothold.

The Libertarian Youth, which is auxiliary to the ALC, holds regular discussion meetings at our hall in Havana. When it was possible to do so, we held occasional public mass meetings of our own in union halls, theaters and public squares. In the recent period, we have had to limit ourselves to participating in such meetings under auspices of cultural groups etc., in which some comrade of ours speaks in the name of the ALC. We hope soon to re-issue our own paper. At this point the main difficulty is financial.

With deep sorrow, we report the death in Mogogon Colony, N.Y., of our beloved comrade MILLY WITCOFF ROCKER. She was in her 79th year. Memorial services in New York City, were attended by approximately 300 persons. To comrade Rudolph Becker, her companion during many decades of life and struggle, the friends and members of the Libertarian Association extend their heartfelt sympathy in his bereavement.

SPANISH - RUSSIAN INTERVIEWS

(All items on this page are reprinted from Iberica, November 15, 1955)

Reports from reliable sources indicate that a normalization of relations between Russia and Spain is more advanced than is generally known. Representatives of the Spanish and Russian governments met during October in Lisbon and formulated a preliminary agreement to the effect that the radios of the two countries refrain from further attacks on each other's regimes.

And conversations have taken place in Paris during the past few weeks between representatives of the two countries, and both countries hope to arrive at important concrete agreements.

#####

RUSSIAN DELEGATION IN SPAIN

The International Congress of Industrial Chemistry which opened in Madrid on October 23 was attended by a delegation from the Soviet Union composed of nine members, eight men and one woman. The Chairman of the delegation was Dr. Nazarov of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. The Russian delegation brought a new and advanced piece of equipment to the Congress. The President and Secretary of the Russian Academy of Science.

The Spanish Minister of Education, Sr. Puigcerver, has stated that "The Russian presence here, is not at all strange. We live in a free country, and these Russians are technicians."

#####

SPANISH DELEGATION TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Spain has sent an official delegation to the Industrial Fair at Brno, Czechoslovakia. This is another manifestation of the improved relations between Spain and the Soviet bloc.

#####

ABC AND THE KREMLIN

The Madrid newspaper ABC reports in its issue of October 19 that the Kremlin is willing to re-establish diplomatic relations with the Holy See, on condition that the Vatican agree to the principle of the establishment of concordats between the churches of the eastern European countries and their governments. ABC describes this Soviet offer as 'sincere.'

#####

NOTICE

Because of lack of finances, "Individual Action" is forced to suspend publication. We would like to thank those readers of Views and Comments who have graciously supported us through three trying years. JOHN COLLETTIN

A PROFITABLE LOVE AFFAIR

Those who kept up with the Communist press of Spain during the civil war years (1936 - 1939) will perhaps recall its accusation that Muscolini was a welscher. This referred to the fact that he had not paid for the aviation gasoline which Russia had been exporting to Italy ever since the Abyssinian war. Intending merely to show that Il Duce was an all around louse, the C.P. unwittingly reminded people that the Italian air force which was then bombing the cities of Loyalist Spain, operated largely on Soviet fuel.

There are some of us who have not forgotten. So that it comes as no great surprise to learn that Hispano-Russian trade relations have continued almost without interruption since 1947. The chief items of exchange are lead, mercury and textiles from Spain to Russia - and wheat, cotton and petroleum in return. It will be interesting to watch this commerce expand and become more open as diplomatic relations between the two military dictatorships are placed on a more comfortable footing.

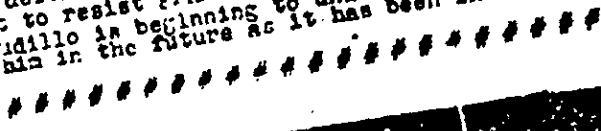
Steps are being taken to ease the mutual hostility into which both governments were forced by the exigencies of propaganda. The Spanish and Russian radios seem to have agreed not to attack each other's governments. And Franco has just declared (Dec. 2, 1955) that the death of Stalin and the promotion of Beria have eliminated the "police terror" - that with military men assuming complete control of the country the situation of the Russian people has been alleviated.

~~At the same time, the Russian front, who fought with Hitler's armies on the Russian front, have been repatriated from Soviet concentration camps while an equally considerable number of Spanish anti-fascists remain in said camps. With Madrid playing host to Soviet scientists (at the International Congress of Standardization) and sending official commercial visitors to the Brno Industrial Fair in Czechoslovakia, the ice would appear to be definitely broken.~~

Presumably the first passes were made by the Kremlin, for the Franco regime must consider its obligations to Washington and Vatican City. It can hardly afford to lose face in these two capitals by taking an aggressive male role in the budding romance. But it is sorely tempted by the many millions of dollars' worth of Spanish gold held by Russia.

This gold was taken as partial payment for the miserable trickle of arms and wheat sent by Russia to Loyalist Spain - the rest of the payment being exacted in the form of enormous military and police powers given by the Loyalist government to the insignificant Communist party of Spain. If the establishment of a Moscow-Madrid axis should now result in the transfer of these golden millions, it would be but the logical conclusion of a process which began during the civil war.

We refer to the Stalinist military assaults against the collectives of Aragon, their attempts to muzzle the Spanish Anarchist press, the murders of Purutti, Ascaso and Berneri, and the unceasing efforts of the Communists to destroy those organizations such as the C.N.T., which were the first to resist Franco's seizure of power. And it looks as though the Caudillo is beginning to understand that the Kremlin can be as useful to him in the future as it has been in the past.



RADIO TRAINING

A BIRD'S EYE VIEW

The straw dummy hung grotesquely from the tree limb. The arms and legs stuck out stiffly and it swayed slightly in the hot wind, like a corpse on the gallows.

"Okay you guys. Run and stick it. And remember, it's alive and it's the enemy and you hate his guts. Lead off, Russell."

The sergeant stepped back and Russell ran forward, crouched over and slid his bayonet into the dummy with a long, smooth movement. As he ran back with an easy stride, Peter noticed that he was panting and that his big, beefy face was flushed deep red.

Then it was Peter's turn and as he ran at the dummy, he only noticed that it looked rather like a man, and that the sky was a deep blue behind it. He jabbed at it once, half-heartedly, just pricking the worn khaki jacket, and trotted back.

"Anderson," the sergeant roared, stepping out toward the other three. "Get the matter out and get back. That's the way. Now go back and rip his guts out."

Peter felt his cheeks get hot and for once, surprising himself, he spoke back. "He was angry now, really angry, for the first time since he had been drafted. He had hated it all along, but for some reason, now it all exploded in a blinding rage."

"I can't. It looks like a man."

"Of course it does, you sonofabitch. It's the enemy."

"I don't care if he is. He's a man, just like you and me."

"Why you damn goddamn bastard," screamed the sergeant, running at Peter with his fists clenched.

Peter watched him come and again he was blinded with white-hot rage. He simply lifted the rifle slightly and the sergeant, trying to stop too late, ran the bayonet into his own stomach up to the rifle muzzle. Peter jerked it free and the sergeant, his hands clasped over his stomach and a surprised look on his face, slowly sat down on the ground.

Peter let the rifle slip out of his fingers, staring at the red-stained bayonet. The next moment a railroad train seemed to hit him in the back and he staggered, knocked off balance. He managed to turn around and saw Russell's face smiling over the black, smoking hole in his rifle barrel. Peter felt no pain as he cank down with his ears ringing. He saw the sergeant's beefy, shocked face in a swirling, red list. He had understood it all, he was hurt. He couldn't understand why...

10 -
When the stretcher bearers came, Peter was unconscious and muttering words over and over to himself. The other soldiers could only make out a little from time to time:

"...die by the sword...not kill...thou shalt...die...kill..."

"What's he saying?" one of the stretcher bearers asked Russell.

"I don't know. Doesn't make sense."

"Why the hell did he do it?"

"He's a nut." Russell forced a smile. "A real nut." He spat on the ground.

"Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ." Jones was murmuring over and over again, his face buried in his big hands.

"What the hell's the matter with you?" asked Russell irritably. "He killed the sergeant, didn't he? He asked for it, didn't he?"

Jones looked up at him. He had a deeply horrified look on his face. "But why did he...?"

"They're all nuts. They ought to give me a promotion for it."

Peter died later that night without regaining consciousness. It was decided not to tell his family the whole story. It all became an accident, a regrettable accident. After all, the truth would have created quite a stir, and the colonel had learned recently, through highly reliable sources, that he was to be promoted and sent to Washington. The colonel had his career to think about. Russell was promoted to corporal for unusual resourcefulness in time of danger and the whole affair was hushed up.

WIDE VIEWS & COMMENTS
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New York 3, N.Y.

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Ticket No.

Municipal Court
BOROUGH OF MILTOWN
Middlesex County

Traffic Case No.

State of New Jersey

Receipt for Cash Bail, or
Fines, Penalties, Forfeiture
and costs.

AARON KATZ
Defendant

Received from AARON KATZ the
sum of FIFTEEN dollars. (\$15.00)

for cash bail for the offense as charged of SPEEDING
(Describe offense)
EXCEEDED 60 MPH ZONE

under 27:23:27-2

(Cite section and title of ordinance or statute)

In satisfaction of the ^{fine} ~~penalty~~ imposed by the
~~court~~ forfeiture

Judgment of conviction herein for (Offense as charged)

N.J. TURNPIKE
(Cite section and title of ordinance or statute.)

of 10 dollars

and also the court costs of 5 dollars

Dated: 11/8/59
(LB) *James Miller*
Clerk

(Note. Strike out words and phrases not applicable
and prepare in triplicate.)

No. 11121

I AM INNOCENT

Morton Sobell

WHAT DOES JUSTICE FOR MORTON SOBELL MEAN TO YOU?

Janice Rula and Ray Lev

invite you
to an evening of

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January 16, 1959 Evening at 8:30 p.m.

with

Charlotte Holloman Ray Lev Elly Stone
George Rabin Stanley Drucker Milton Schafer

at the home of Janice Rula
7 Riverside Drive, N.Y. 24.
Single admission fifteen dollars

(Reservations in order of receipt
of checks payable to cash.
Address to: Ray Lev, 490 West End
Avenue, Apt. 114, New York 24, N.Y.)

Oct. 23, 1958

Mrs. Martha D. Kennedy
Belchertown, Vermont

Dear Martha Kennedy:

It was very good to have met and to have talked with you. Ruth was kind enough to show me the letter which you sent. It was a beautiful handwriting and a beautiful letter. So, I am looking forward eagerly to your reply.

For all the talk, and work, do wrong. Less so, however, than we usually find characters should be successful in pursuing the best of all ways fighting civil rights and civil liberties now in Congress.

I hope you will have received the Wexley book by this time. I mailed it to you on the 20th. The book is quite readable, exciting and interesting—and accurate. What Mary Davis finished reading it and wanted to have write a letter to the President. Unfortunately, it has not been received to reply. Thereafter, he headed the list of VIP signers to President Eisenhower. Since that time, hundreds of additional signers have added their names to the appeal. I am sending you a copy of this appeal to the President, with an abbreviated list of community leaders who have signed.

Please sign one yourself and add the other (or some other) names. When I saw Mary LeBlond, she suggested some Minister who would be likely to sign the appeal. There will be many others, I am sure, but it would not hurt to get started. I wish you would have a talk with Mary. She is very fine, and very interested in all activities. If she doesn't remember which Minis we had been suggested, probably Boris will, and would have other suggestions.

Then, after you've signed, and after you've read the book and the enclosed material, and after you have made up your mind, as I hope you will, that you would like to devote your valuable efforts to this fight, there is something that should be done. If you'd write and let us know how you feel, we could meet again, either here or there.

I know that much of what I say will be wasted, because I can see what an observant person you are. Shall I bother to tell you that this is America's foremost civil liberties issue, that all of our civil liberties cases depend upon what happens here? You know it. Shall I tell you that in every civil liberties decision handed down in the past few years under [the Warren court, the violation which has been reversed

(cont'd 10-21, on the 3d, my own typewriter)

was similar to one of the scores of violations which occurred
reversed because of procedural suppression of evidence. The Nelson case, reversed because Marshall, an important witness, was unfairly discredited in other proceedings. The Malvin-Grunwald case, reversed because of violation of Fifth Amendment rights concerning testimony before grand jurors. The Lova case, reversed because of being sentenced before grand jurors. The Levy case, modified because of illegal seizure of evidence. Ste. Ede. Each of these violations occurred in Sobell's case. Don't watch for any new Supreme Court decision, where it reverses so many basic rights, and the odds are that it will be parallel to such violation in our case.

As I told A J Meets, and Norma Schara, and Richard Roosevelt, and Richard Fischer, and Walter French, and Judge Borah, and many more—all of whom have hereafter expressed their hope that Sobell wins his new trial or his freedom—this is not a case which concerns primarily one man. It is a case which affects the entire country and people. It directly affects the case in France, it affects an entire country and people. It directly affects the rights of speech and assembly and press. No less than a score of important Sobell rights have assumed that they know that Sobell did not receive due process, that he is entitled to a new trial, that they will speak out when the time is right, and that it would mean their souls for him to speak now. "Any day", they promise. Tomorrow, Sobell begins his ninth year in jail.

It is not a case which concerns primarily one man. It is a case which affects the entire country and people. It directly affects the case in France, it affects an entire country and people. It directly affects the rights of speech and assembly and press. No less than a score of important Sobell rights have assumed that they know that Sobell did not receive due process, that he is entitled to a new trial, that they will speak out when the time is right, and that it would mean their souls for him to speak now. "Any day", they promise. Tomorrow, Sobell begins his ninth year in jail.

Help us win our fight, and you win a victory for all Americans, you defend the integrity of our judicial system, you open the minds and the mouths of our people. This position is unchallengeable—today, dare to debate the facts with a Sobell. Because the facts are so clearly on Sobell's side. Simply to quote from our records and decisions in this case, most of which quotations have been given in our case press, is to win your case. For example, how many Americans know that Circuit Court ruling held that the Rosenberg-Sobell trial was unfair, that the jury were biased and Sobell representative?

Page 2, enclosed

As you, may still will still have it.

Will do that you'll like to help further that would like some information, we can discuss the possibilities formation of a small local committee, funds, literature, surveys, etc. for activity, debate, literature distribution, etc.

You may want more material for your own collection. The trial record is available, available, mail, and will contain directly many of the points which you might like to see reproduced. Also, you might like to see copies of the different legal notices which have been given.

You also you might be hoping to see them soon. Since so, I shall look forward to it.

Very truly yours,
L. P. Sullivan

As above,

Handwritten signature

Dear Governor Rockefeller:

Please accept my best wishes for a "Happy New Year, and for a progressive, prosperous and peaceful administration.

I am a cousin of Abraham H. Keller, who I am informed by some of my relatives you knew quite well. Like my cousin, though lacking his varied knowledge and abilities, I am deeply interested in the welfare of the American people, of all peoples and people. For some time I have been intending to write to you to enlist your support or your interest in a most important campaign for justice. With the advent of the New Year, I know I must wait no longer.

I should like to bring to your attention the case of Morton Sobell, co-defendant of the "Rosenbergs", currently serving a 30 year sentence. Over ~~the~~ these years have been spent in Alcatraz.

Morton Sobell, as a young scientist, father and husband. Up to ~~that~~ the time he found himself involved projected into the Rosenberg-Sobell case, he had never been in trouble before in his life, never so much as having received a parking ticket. Why, then, was he sent to Alcatraz, destined exclusively for many-time offenders, escapees from other institutions, violent disciplinary? Perhaps it was this action, in violation of the Prison Dept's own standards, which first moved scores of prominent Americans to take a deeper look into the entire case? This deeper look has proved extremely rewarding as far as knowledge and truth and intellectual integrity; it may prove disheartening to any desirous of maintaining the illusion that ~~the~~ ~~case~~ ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~settled~~.

concludes of that note.

Does one American in a thousand know this vital fact, that the only ~~court~~ court which ever reviewed the proceedings in the Rosenberg - Sobell case, the Second Circuit Court of Appeals, held that the trial was unfair, that the conduct of the prosecution was "wholly reprehensible", and that a new trial was warranted had the defense made timely objection? Many Americans learned about this for the first time last year, when the NEW REPUBLIC mentioned it in an editorial reply to Judge Simon Rifkind. This Circuit Court finding came while the Rosenbergs were still alive. Why do Americans first begin to learn about it ~~five~~ years after they've been executed?

Morton Sobell was convicted by hysteria alone. Incredible as it may seem, knowing about his having received a thirty year sentence, there was not a single witness during the entire trial who ~~was~~

AARON KATZ

General Insurance
ANALYST AND CONSULTANT

"ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE"

1200 Broadway
New York 5, N.Y.

October 14, 1945

Mr. J. H. Menden
1200 Broadway
New York 5, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Menden:

It was my plea to you at the last year not to stop my work. I am
then I have shown you that I am still in several lines. I am sure of your
many forthright statements in the past. I am sure that you will be
when the question of working for me is not in the air.

You may be interested in the enclosed copy of a letter I wrote
to the New York Times and its editor, Mr. J. H. Menden, in which I
expressed my views on the subject of working for me.

While this letter was in the air, I have been thinking of you
It seems like it might be of some use to you. I am sure it will be
useful to you in some way.

I am sure that you will find it of particular significance to you. I am sure that you will find it of
"The Big U" and its editor, Mr. J. H. Menden, in which I
expressed my views on the subject of working for me. I am sure that
your great country will be of great use to you. I am sure that
the Security Council, and the Council of Nations, will be of great use to you.

AARDN KATZ
General Insurance
ANALYST AND CONSULTANT

1458-46TH STREET
BROOKLYN 19, N. Y.

"ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE"

TELEPHONE
SEDNEY 6-8550

October 7, 1953

1458-46th Street
Brooklyn 19, N. Y.

Dear Eleanor Roosevelt:

Believe Me,

I cannot begin to tell you how much I enjoyed hearing you on the
Harry Gray program. You were wonderful, as usual. In so vital an issue as 1957,
I couldn't help but agree with you. It is hard to see how Mr. Gray could support
President Eisenhower's position, nevertheless I am grateful to him for giving me
and perhaps millions of other listeners the opportunity to learn about your views
and your extremely wise advice. I am sure that Mr. Gray will be a great
asset to you. I fully concurred when he spoke of you as "the first lady of
the world".

...

...

...

I am sure that in the measure of reading your reports and
hearing you and seeing you in the future.

Sincerely yours,

Richard E. ...



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Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
The Park View Hotel
202 E. 54th Street, West
New York 17, N. Y.

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
204 FIFTY-SIXTH STREET WEST
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

October 14, 1958

Dear Mr. Katz:

Thank you very much for your kind letter and your comment on the Harry Gray program which I appreciated.

I am glad to know that things are looking brighter for Mr. Sobell and I would be glad to keep you informed.

Very sincerely yours,

Eleanor Roosevelt

Anna Simon



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INDEPEND 7-8822

Sept. 18, 1950

The National Guardian
207 W. 4th Street
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Editor:

If only somebody had told President Eisenhower that Quamey and Matsui are a part of China, he might never have drawn his ridiculous parallel charging Communist China with Hitlerian aggression. Could his predecessor President Truman have made such charges when the Chinese moved successfully to oust Chiang from Shanghai?

Forget about Faubus and Little Rock, and consider the case of Big Rock, offshore island off the North Carolina coast. Suppose it decided to secede rather than live up to US integration laws and Supreme Court decisions, and suppose it began to blockade the coast and bomb the mainland, hoping for eventual restoration of its Jimcrow type government. Wouldn't it be natural for the US to take over Big Rock, with force if necessary? Wouldn't South Africa become the laughing-stock of the world, if it then charged the US with Hitlerian aggression? Wouldn't it be tragic if it or Japan shipped troops and bombers thousands of miles away from their homes, all the way to Big Rock on the American coast, under the guise of halting American aggression?

Sincerely yours,

January 12, 1959

Rev. Wayne White
9 Second Avenue
New York City

My dear Rev. White:

My knowledge of your work on behalf of Rev. Uphaus and of your genuine intellectual integrity convinces me that yours is an important signature which is missing on the enclosed Appeal to the President on behalf of Morton Sobell, co-defendant of the Rosenberg.

about Sobell's case, but I imagine that you will find the list of signatures to the appeal most impressive, and that you will find Carlton Soule's letter of great interest.

I would very much appreciate it if you would sign the enclosed appeal and return it to me. If you should like any further information about the case, I should be pleased to send you any of the plentiful material which is available, pamphlets, leaflets, articles, books pro and con, trial record, legal briefs, other documents. Or, I should be glad to meet with you at your convenience.

I eagerly await your kind reply.

Very sincerely yours,

MARTIN KATZ

General Insurance

AGENCY AND CONSULTANT

"ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE"

330 EAST 11TH AVENUE
BROOKLYN 30, N. Y.

TELEPHONE
BR 1-2345

APRIL 21, 1968

The National Guardian
197 East 4th Street
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Editor:

Voters in Sen Davis' district are privileged in being able to vote most decisively for peace and civil liberties and jobs and civil rights, by voting for Communist leader Sen Davis for State Senator on the Peoples Rights ticket. One wonders why his party would deny this privilege to voters in Coney Island or Bedford Stuyvesant or Buffalo.

It is a relief to note that his party does not support Harriman, "conditionally or otherwise", though the "loyalty" of its position would seem to require a Harriman vote. It is disappointing to note the failure to support John F. McNamara or the others on the Independent-Socialist ticket, though it does offer its "conditional" support to Dennis Lehane for U. S. Senator.

Failure to support McNamara and the Independent-Socialist ticket will not hurt either candidate as much as it will jeopardize Communist Party prestige and leadership. I believe that most of its friends and supporters will not waste their votes by offering them to the "cold-warriors". They will vote for the man who fought most actively on behalf of the Rosenberg's, for freedom for Morton Sobell, for the most vigorous defender of civil liberties and civil rights, for that fighter for peace and that champion of a free press, John F. McNamara. These votes will be the most meaningful of all.

I believe the WUMLK is incorrect in equating the position of the cold-war Democrats and Republicans with that of the "anti-peaceful coexistence" Trotskyists. I know it is wrong to imply that this equation is in any way similar to the Independent-Socialist ticket. Is it fair, or wise, to permit such inferences about people like McNamara or Annette Lubinstein or Capt. Mulzac?

Sincerely yours,

MEMORANDUM

to the

SUBCOMMITTEE ON AMERICAN REPUBLICS AFFAIRS

Foreign Relations Committee

United States Senate

Washington, D.C.

Submitted in behalf of:

Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell
940 Broadway
New York City 10, N.Y.

INTRODUCTION

This statement is submitted in behalf of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell. The concern evidenced herein stems from the interest we have as Americans in the development and securing of good relations with our neighbors in the Western Hemisphere, as well as our particular interest in seeking justice in the case of Morton Sobell.

These dual interests are closely interrelated. At the core of the problem of friendly relations between countries is the mutual respect and observance of territorial sovereignty. We hope to show that the practice of international kidnapping of a person from the territory of a Latin American country so as to effectuate his return to the United States is a naked violation of the principle of territorial sovereignty and a source of suspicion and distrust between nations. In spite of frequent official pronouncements disclaiming and criticizing such forcible seizure, the law of the United States, established by Ker v. Illinois, 119 U.S. 436, has permitted the United States to assert jurisdiction over the person of an individual who has been kidnapped from a foreign country. Our attention is directed to this doctrine as a continuing incentive for international kidnapping and thereby an important cause for the deterioration of international relations and friendship with our neighbors. In this context the Sobell case, involving assertions of such international kidnapping with the participation of the United States government, that have never been answered on the merits, takes on importance and significance. We hope to show that this very case provides an opportunity to bring our national policy into conformity with the principle of territorial sovereignty by abolishing the Ker doctrine. To this end and with this interest the following statement is submitted.

RESPECT FOR NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

One of the most significant, if not the single most important guarantee of good relations between the United States and its Latin American neighbors is the scrupulous regard and respect for national sovereignty. Only this indispensable approach, manifested in both actions and attitude, can thoroughly dispel the suspicions, fears, and often aversion to the United States that are exhibited by official and un-official reactions of Latin American countries.

Our country has long recognized the basic principle of international law of the inviolability of national sovereignty. Thomas Jefferson, as Secretary of State, wrote the French ministry in 1793 that:

"A sovereign according to modern international law, cannot exercise the prerogatives of sovereignty in any dominions but his own." 1

Specifically this doctrine of respect for national sovereignty has found expression in the area of unlawful intrusion upon a sovereign's territory to capture and return to the United States one accused of a violation of United States law. Mr. Moore, Secretary of State to President Madison, wrote as early as 1815:

"No principle is better established than that no government has a right to pursue offenders against its laws, or deserters from its service, into the dominions of another; that such persons can be recovered by applications only to the government within whose jurisdiction they take shelter, and in obedience to its laws and treaties applicable to such a case. A departure from this principle being a violation of sovereignty, seldom fails to produce disagreeable consequences." 2

Subsequent Secretaries of State have reiterated this principle of non-violation of national sovereignty to recapture a "fugitive." Secretary of State Buchanan in 1845 stated:

"A nation claiming a fugitive from justice cannot invade the territorial waters of another state for the purpose of arresting such fugitive." 3

And in 1801 Secretary of State Blaine wrote in respect to the extradition treaty between the United States and Mexico:

"The treaty of extradition between the United States and Mexico prescribes the forms for carrying it into effect, and does not authorize either party, for any cause, to deviate from those forms, or arbitrarily abduct from the territory of one party a person charged with crime for trial within the jurisdiction of the other." 4

These pronouncements represent a recognition of the importance of respecting sovereign integrity. History reveals, though, a pattern of violations of sovereign territorial rights which have always brought as a consequence strained and tense relations between the United States and its neighbors in the Western Hemisphere. We do not deal with the numerous expeditions and sorties of United States marines to the various Latin American countries including Nicaragua, Honduras, Haiti, and Cuba in the early twentieth century when these countries rocked with the tide of popular revolutions. Nor do we deal with the American Expeditionary force that entered Mexico in pursuit of Francisco Villa and remained stationed in that country from March 9, 1916 to February 6, 1917, when its final withdrawal was obtained.

Further, we only note in passing, the border incidents constituting violations of sovereign rights that have occurred in the past, involving military encroachments and encounters. As early as the Civil War we were made aware of the fact that respect for national sovereignty required that national boundaries be strictly recognized. Thus, when in December, 1863, an American man-of-war entered Canso Harbor in Nova Scotia to recover the crew of the Chesapeake, the three remaining members of the Union steamer Chesapeake who were delivered over to British authorities in Halifax were subsequently released "in view of the irregularity of their seizure by a foreign man-of-war in British water."⁶

Mexican-American border violations involving troops and armed might have a long and extensive history. As far back as 1888 the United States registered protests over Mexican troops passing into United States territory.⁷ And five years later the protests were coming from Mexico to the United States complaining of United States troops firing on a Mexican official in Mexican territory.⁸ The period 1914-1918 witnessed countless incidents of firing across the border between United States and Mexican troops.⁹ Even after the Expeditionary Force had left Mexico, there were incidents involving United States troop crossings into Mexico.¹⁰

INTERNATIONAL KIDNAPPING AND TERRITORIAL SOVEREIGNTY

In this statement we are concerned with a separate but related aspect of the problem of recognition and respect for national sovereignty which we respectfully submit lies at the core of our relations with Latin American countries. This aspect is the unlawful and irregular kidnapping of persons in Latin American countries to obtain their return to the United States. This situation sharply raises the important issues of violation and total disregard of solemn extradition treaty obligations, violation of the internationally recognized right of asylum, and disregard for the established policies governing law enforcement and the administration of justice in the country whose sovereignty is so violated.

As already indicated, our State Department has officially stated the importance of recognizing the national sovereignty of a nation by not participating in an unlawful kidnapping of a person in such nation in defiance of its sovereignty and authority. In fact, Secretary of State Gresham characterized such activities as being "subversive of the fundamental principles of sovereignty."¹¹ Yet here again the history of our relations with Latin American countries reveals a not infrequent resort to kidnapping, often with all the dressings of international intrigue, that has caused resentment and tension to grow.

A. EXPERIENCES IN INTERNATIONAL KIDNAPPING

Some of the more well known of these kidnappings primarily concerning Mexico deserve mention.

In 1905 one Martinez was kidnapped from Mexican soil by one Felix and delivered to United States officials to stand trial for an offense against the laws of California. The Mexican government protested the trial and demanded Martinez's return to Mexico stating that it was obvious that his seizure was without foundation in view of the fact that the United States had extradited Felix to Mexico to stand trial for the irregular seizure.¹²

In the 1930's one Luis Lopez, then in Mexico, was forced to cross the border into Texas where he was wanted for violating the Harrison Narcotic Act. It was stated that his abduction was planned with the previous arrangement of a United States deputy marshal and a Texas constable. After the Mexican authorities requested extradition of the kidnapers, which request was denied, the Mexican Embassy strongly requested the return to Mexico of Lopez on the basis that he "was brought into American territory in a manner which constitutes an invasion of jurisdiction by American officials committed in Mexican territory." ¹³

Back in the 1890's Mexico had occasion to register an official complaint against the invasion of its territory by six armed men in pursuit of one Jesus Holquin. The Mexican minister asked the United States to issue instructions "to prevent the future repetition of acts no less disagreeable than offensive to the sovereignty of the United States of Mexico." ¹⁴

Our relations with Latin America improved greatly during the 1930's and 1940's, when the policy of "big stick" diplomacy was formally renounced. But subsequent actions, including the Schell case, have given rise to fears in Latin America that aspects of "big stick" diplomacy were being resorted to again.

Our relations with our Canadian neighbors have not been without several incidents of irregular return of persons which has aroused ill-feeling and tension.¹⁵ The Mexican pattern is also paralleled in our relations with other Latin American countries.¹⁶ Incidents involving the inviolability of territorial sovereignty have also occurred between European countries and the United States.¹⁷

On the other hand, our government has emphatically and quite rightly protested any violation of United States territorial sovereignty for the purposes of abduction of a person, whether by an old imperial power during the period America was growing,¹⁸ by our Mexican neighbor,¹⁹ or by other countries.²⁰

5
B. EXTRADITION TREATIES

These incidents provide the living background to the inconsistent pattern that has emerged from the conflict between the principle of respect for territorial sovereignty and the doctrine of self-help which has allowed the United States to assert jurisdiction over a person it has kidnaped from another country. The principle of territorial sovereignty has been embodied in a sole extradition treaty and numerous statements affirming the right to asylum.

The Extradition Treaty represents, in an advanced and formalized sense, the recognition by the contracting parties to the importance of upholding by certain rules and procedure to protect the territorial sovereignty and integrity of the nations involved. The extradition treaty transforms what was a matter of comity and discretion into a matter of duty, and the measure of that duty is the treaty itself. Extradition treaties by our country may be traced back to article 27 of the Jay treaty with Great Britain on November 19, 1794. The first treaty wholly devoted to extradition was made with France on November 9, 1843. Since then we have executed treaties with almost every nation in the Western Hemisphere. Our courts have long recognized the status of the extradition treaty as part of the supreme law of the land and that obedience to its mandate is necessary to effectuate its policy. See, for example, *United States v. Rauscher*, 19 U.S. 407; *United States v. Halliday*, 7 Fed. Cas. 741 (C.C. D.C.); *Alvarez v. State*, 234 Ill. 47 (Ill. Ct. App. 1914).

If the practice followed the admitted principle so that any violation of territorial sovereignty was promptly and effectively remedied by return to the jurisdiction of the offender, the extradition treaty would recognize the jurisdiction of the offender over the kidnapped person. In the international kidnapping world, the law is that the right of territorial sovereignty would be maintained, and the fugitive shall be delivered up and by no means to be held in the territory of the kidnapper. If the kidnapper is a citizen of the United States, the right of territorial sovereignty would be maintained, and the fugitive shall be delivered up and by no means to be held in the territory of the kidnapper. If the kidnapper is a citizen of another country, the right of territorial sovereignty would be maintained, and the fugitive shall be delivered up and by no means to be held in the territory of the kidnapper.

C. THE CASE OF *UNITED STATES V. HARRIS*

The present situation has arisen that such international kidnapping has occurred in the case of *United States v. Harris*, 119 U.S. 437. The defendant, Harris, was a citizen of Illinois, born in the United States and had been in the service of the United States Army and Navy in the United States, is generally regarded as

establishing the concept that irregular removal of the fugitive involving a violation of territorial sovereignty and disregard of treaty obligations does not deprive the abducting nation of jurisdiction.

This doctrine has been the subject of extended and bristling criticism. The criticism has fundamentally been directed at the result of the Ker case in the abrogation of solemn treaty commitments and equal and fair relations between nations on an international law basis. The most thorough expression of the policy behind the inviolability of territorial sovereignty which must override and set aside the Ker doctrine is presented in the "Draft Convention of Jurisdiction With Respect to Crime" prepared by the special Harvard Law School Research In International Law. Both the proposed extradition provision on the lack of jurisdiction in the irregular seizure situation and the comment in support thereof eloquently present the role that such a rule would play in creating better relations between the United States and our Latin American neighbors by firmly committing ourselves to the faithful observance of international obligations. We take the liberty of quoting extensively from the Draft Convention.

"Art. 16. Apprehension In Violation of International Law.

In exercising jurisdiction under this Convention, no State shall prosecute or punish any person who has been brought within its territory or a place subject to its authority by recourse to measures in violation of international law or international convention without first obtaining the consent of the State or States whose rights have been violated by such measures."

COMMENT

(1) "...The principle...is in part a restatement of existing practice and in part a reconciliation of conflict between contemporary doctrines. It is believed that its inclusion in a comprehensive convention in the subject of international penal competence is indicated by the most persuasive considerations of policy. "It is everywhere agreed, of course, that 'recourse to measures in violation of international law or international convention' in obtaining custody of a person charged with crime entails an international responsibility which must be discharged by the release or restoration of the person taken, indemnification of the injured State, or otherwise. It is not everywhere agreed that there may be no prosecution or punishment in reliance upon custody thus obtained 'without first obtaining the consent of the State or States whose rights have been violated by such measures.' Thus the present article assures an additional and highly desirable sanction for international law in the matter of recovery of fugitives from criminal justice. It removes much of the incentive to such irregular or illegal recoveries as have been the source of international friction in the past. [c.o.] It provides an added incentive for recourse to regular methods in securing custody of fugitives. And if, peradventure, the custody of a fugitive has been obtained by unlawful methods, the present article indicates an appropriate

procedure for correcting what has been done and removing the bar to prosecution and punishment. The desirability of such a provision in a convention which embodies a comprehensive statement of the broad penal competence supported by contemporary practice would seem to require no emphasis." 623-24

(L) "It will be seen that the practical effect of the Anglo-American rule...is that the national law lends no support whatever to the observance of admitted international obligations. On the contrary, it takes advantage of an admitted violation of international obligation to proceed with the prosecution and punishment of a person of whom custody has been illegally obtained." 630

The outstanding international law authorities have joined in the criticism by appealing to the overriding principles of international law and justice. Professor Edwin D. Dickinson has stated:

"If the person or thing which is the subject of controversy has been brought within reach of the court's process by a breach of treaty or international law, the court should approve no arbitrary or face-saving distinctions. The court is an arm of the nation and its jurisdiction can rise no higher, by virtue of process served within the territory, than the jurisdiction of the nation which it represents. If there was no jurisdiction in the nation to make the original seizure or arrest, there should be no jurisdiction in the court to subject to the nation's law. In terms of American precedents, this means that the underlying principle of United States v. Rauscher is correct and that the distinction attempted in Ver v. Illinois is arbitrary, unsound, and should be repudiated;..." 24

It may be noted that the element of urgency that may sometimes be involved in this area can never serve as a bona fide reason for blatantly violating the territorial sovereignty of another nation. The principle violated is of such importance, particularly in securing good relations between the United States and its neighbors, that it overrides other considerations. Further, as a practical matter, provisional detention "in urgent cases" is often supplied by the extradition treaty provided that "the provisional arrest shall be made according to the rules established by the laws of the country of which extradition is requested." 29

The Ver policy reflects a political legacy and diplomatic approach of the United States government which is most harmful, which has become outdated, which has been previously renounced, and which should be abandoned.

D. THE SOBELL CASE

As we have pointed out in the introduction our interest in this matter stems, in part, from the role that we believe self-help or international kidnapping played in the trial of Morton Sobell. It has been and is the contention of Morton Sobell that the United States was a party to and participated in his unlawful seizure from Mexican territory and his subsequent removal to and prosecution in the United States. It has further been, and is, his contention that the Mexican Government never consented to or participated in the abduction and, in fact, agents of the United States were informed of Mexico's objections to the invasion of its sovereignty. Further, it is contended that the irregular return was a clear violation of the extradition treaty between the United States and Mexico.

The abduction was squarely raised by Sobell in an application in the nature of habeas corpus (technically an application under Title 22 United States Code Section 1255). To our consternation and surprise, the government never squarely answered these contentions on the merits. Rather, it rested on the criticized doctrine of the Ker case. Thus, the Sobell case presents a full-blown example of the type of situation that has and continues to cause suspicion and distrust of the United States. One may well ask why has the United States insisted on resting on the dry technical basis of the Ker case rather than fulfilling its duty to conform to international law and treaty obligations. As long as the United States insists on applying the Ker case, at the price of the territorial sovereignty of sister nations and in abrogation of extradition treaties, the suspicion persists that international kidnappings are indeed utilized by our country. In fact, the circumstances surrounding Sobell's return to the United States have aroused such feeling in Mexico, an official inquiry was made. Various newspaper articles appeared castigating the United States for the abduction and refusal to meet Sobell's charges. Protests have been registered by prominent Mexicans. Clearly, all these factors operate to the injury of the United States' name and interests in Mexico and all of Latin America.

The Sobell case provided and provides a dramatic vehicle for an affirmative declaration by our country that we will not tolerate the unlawfulness of international kidnapping, that the territorial sovereignty of our neighbors will not be violated and that treaty obligations are to be scrupulously observed. Such an affirmation of fundamental principles could have been readily achieved by accepting the principle that international kidnapping of an individual in violation of international law and in disregard of treaty obligations does not vest jurisdiction in the United States over the abducted person. According to this principle, the United States could have then preserved its jurisdiction by meeting the issues on the merits, particularly whether agents or representatives of the United States participated in the abduction.

The Sobell case would provide a uniquely opportune occasion for our adoption of the above fundamental principles. The very publicity given to this case, the partisanship which it roused in a period of

great emotionalism, and the international support that Morton Sobell has received--all have kept this case in the spotlight. By identifying our country with the principles of territorial sovereignty and respect for treaty obligations, we assert the primacy of these elements which are indispensable for a successful good neighbor policy over all other considerations.

Finally, until we have proved by deeds that the sovereignty of our Latin American neighbors cannot be violated even when we deem the individual sufficiently "important" to warrant his abduction we have not accorded the Latin American nations the respect for their territorial sovereignty which is the rock-bottom guarantee for the development of friendly relations between nations. Those who have been actively engaged in securing justice for Morton Sobell present his case as a striking example of the invasion of the territorial sovereignty of Mexico and a golden opportunity to destroy the ill-feeling toward our country exhibited in Latin America by using his case to repudiate the doctrine of Ker v. Illinois and firmly commit the United States to the faithful observance of sovereignty and treaty obligations.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we respectfully request the Senate Committee to direct a part of its deliberations and investigations to the effect that the doctrine of the Ker case, permitting the assertion of jurisdiction over the person of a fugitive who has been kidnapped from another country, has had upon our relations with Latin American countries. We do not intend or imply that this Committee should review the Sobell case or make any findings thereon which is strictly the function of our Judiciary. Rather, we do urge that the paramount issues of foreign policy and international relations be used as a yardstick in determining whether the Ker doctrine has been detrimental to the best interests of the United States, as we believe it has. The question of corrective legislation with respect to the Ker doctrine is a paramount issue. In coming to grips with this issue, the Committee should judge both the protests that have been raised concerning the circumstances surrounding Morton Sobell's return to the United States and the benefits to be obtained by rectifying, by legislation or other authorized means, the violation of territorial sovereignty that occurred. These benefits go straight to the heart of our relations with our Latin American neighbors. In the diligent discharge of the obligation to our country and to its position as a moral and political leader in the world, we dare not disregard these benefits.

FOOTNOTES

1. Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, to M. Ternant, French Minister, May 15, 1793; II Moore, Digest of International Law.
2. Mr. Monroe, Secretary of State, to Mr. Anthony St. John Baker, Dec. 6, 1815, MS Notes to Foreign Legations II, 113; II Moore, Digest of International Law.
3. IV Moore, Digest of International Law, p. 329; Mr. Buchanan, Secretary of State, to Mr. Weri, Sept. 27, 1845, MS Inst. Brazil, XV 119.
4. Mr. Blaine, Secretary of State, to Mr. Roberts, May 3, 1881, 137 MS Dom Let 326; IV Moore, Digest of International Law.
5. See II Hackworth, Digest of International Law, pp. 289-298.
6. II Moore, Digest of International Law, p. 366; see also the incident of the Confederate cruiser Florida, seized in October 1864 by the Union ship Wachusett in the port of Bahia, Brazil. Secretary of State Seward conceded the violation of Brazilian territorial waters and announced the proposed court-martial of the Wachusett personnel, dismissal of the United States consul who advised the attack, release of the parties on the Florida, and a salute to the Brazilian flag. Moore, ibid., at 367; see Dana's Wheaton, Sec. 430, note 209.
7. Mr. Bayard, Secretary of State, to Mr. Bragg, Minister to Mexico, April 26, 1868, MS Inst. Mexico, XXII 189.
8. II Moore, Digest of International Law, p. 370; For. Rel. 1893, 448, 449, 450, 452, 453.
9. II Hackworth, Digest of International Law, pp. 282-289.
10. See, for example, the correspondence between Secretary of State Lansing and Ambassador Bonillas concerning the entrance of American forces into Mexico in 1919 to pursue the bandits of two American aviators who had landed in Mexico. Secretary Lansing to Ambassador Bonillas, Aug. 26, 1919, MS Dept of State, file 812.0144/151; Senor Bonillas to Mr. Lansing, Sept. 23, 1919, ibid., 812.0144/184.
11. Mr. Gresham, Secretary of State, to Mr. Broadhead, Minister to Switzerland, Oct. 31, 1894, For. Rel. 1894, 674.
12. II Moore, Digest of International Law, at 321.
13. The Mexican Embassy to the Department of State (aide-memoire), Apr. 12, 1935, MS Dept. of State, file 211.12 Hernandez, Tomas/152; quoted in IV Moore, Digest of International Law, 224-225.

14. II Moore, Digest of International Law, 379; For. Rel. 1893, 455, 456, 462, 466, 467.
15. See, for example, the answer of Secretary of State Seward to the protest of the arrest of a United States Army deserter by a United States Army officer "within unquestioned Canadian territories of Great Britain." The Secretary of State admitted the violation of sovereignty and informed the British Government that the officer making the arrest would be discharged from the service and the captured deserter would be discharged from his enlistment. Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, to Mr. Stanton, Secretary of War, April 15, 1863, 60 MS Dom. Let. 231.
In Oct. 1872, Britain protested the seizure and abduction of a United States citizen in Ontario, Canada. When the protest was received "immediate steps were at once taken to have him returned to the authorities and jurisdiction of Canada."
I Moore, Extradition, Sec. 190, pp. 283-284.
16. See, for example:
a. Panama: In 1915 one Bermudez was seized in Panama by United States Canal Zone police and brought to United States to stand trial. The Panama Government demanded his return and the United States acceded to the demand as a matter of comity. II Hackworth, Digest of International Law, 311-312.
In 1933 the American-Panamanian Claims Comm. allowed a claim against the United States when Guillermo Colonje was induced by a Canal Zone detective to leave Panama and come into the Canal Zone where he was immediately arrested and detained. The case was subsequently noll prossed. II Hackworth, Ibid., 313.
b. Brazil: Seizure of Confederate ship and crew by Union cruiser in the port of Bahia, Brazil in October 1864. II Moore, Digest of International Law, 367.
c. Peru: Ker v. Illinois, 119 U.S. 436.
17. See, for example:
a. Spain: When it was alleged that an Algerian sloop was captured by the United States off the coast of Spain, Secretary of State Monroe, in response to protest, wrote to the Spanish ministry that if the jurisdiction of Spain had been infringed, the brig would no longer be detained. Mr. Monroe, Secretary of State to the Chev. de Onis, Span. Min., Feb. 7, 1816, MS, Notes to For. Leg. II, 128.
b. Great Britain: England, in 1891, refused the request of Secretary of State Elaine, to arrest a person who had escaped from jail at Constantinople and who was then supposed to be on his way from New York to England. IV Moore, Digest of International Law, 280.
In 1894 the English authorities refused to allow a detective who had a United States Department of State arrest warrant for a person accused of violating the laws of New York to board a ship of the Hamburg-American Line. The boat was to touch Southampton. IV Moore, Ibid., 284.

18. See the case of Juan Garcia, a political refugee from Spanish Cuba who had escaped to New Orleans. In 1849 it was reported that he was kidnapped from New Orleans, by order of the Spanish or Cuban government and returned to Havana. Secretary of State Clayton informed the American Consul in Havana to investigate and if the story was verified that "the Spanish authorities ... had been concerned in so gross an outrage upon the sovereignty of the United States to demand ... the prompt surrender of the person in question, in order that he might be sent back to New Orleans, as well as the punishment of every individual concerned in the crime...." IV Moore, Digest of International Law, 329.

19. See, for example:

In 1911 two Americans, Converse and Elatt, were kidnapped on American territory, by Mexicans including soldiers and brought into Mexico to be held on a charge of sedition. The Department of State addressed a note to Mexico that if the facts as stated were established "The United States Government would be obliged to request that they be immediately returned" and if they had actually committed an extraditable offense "the Mexican Government would naturally possess the right to institute, in accordance with the treaty, regular proceedings for their return to Mexico and trial and punishment." 11 Hackworth, Digest of International Law, 309-310.

In 1886 one Arresures was arrested in Eagle Pass, Texas, without authority of law, by three Texas sheriffs, on an invalid extradition order. He was taken into Mexico and left with a Mexican police officer, Mondragon. The day after his kidnapping the United States consul asked for his release, without success. The next day Arresures was killed by members of Mondragon's force. Secretary of State Bayard, thereafter, wrote:

"... the fact that he was, at the time of his arrest and abduction, residing on the soil of the United States, would entitle this Government to call upon Mexico for redress. Had the case been presented to this Department in time, it is not doubted that Mexico would have admitted the right of this Government to ask for the prisoner's return; and as that has become impossible, it may be reasonably expected that she will not now deny the only reparation that may be made."

"It is no palliation of Mondragon's guilt that his co-conspirators in the abduction were officials of Texas, who wrongfully used the process of that State to effect the abduction."

Mr. Bayard, Secretary of State, to Mr. Manning, Min. of Mexico, Feb. 26, 1887, MS Inst Mexico XXI 646.

20. See, for example:

a. Canada: The case of Laford who was returned to Illinois when it was revealed that he had been seized in that State and sent to Canada to stand trial without a warrant. IV Moore, Digest of International Law, 224.

The case of Peter Martin, a United States citizen, who had been convicted of various offenses in Laketon, British Columbia. He was being transported through Alaska to a jail in Victoria, B.C. when he assaulted one of his guards. Secretary of State Fish stated that Martin could not be tried for the assault since it was committed on United States territory. Further, if the guards actually passed over United States territory while transporting Martin "they committed, in so doing, a violation of the sovereignty of the United States, which rendered his further detention unjustifiable." II Moore, Digest of International Law, 371.

b. Switzerland: See the case of Constance Madeleine Hie, an American citizen, who was abducted from New York to Switzerland by her Swiss father. The United States protested the abduction and requested the child's return. Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1894, pp. 648-650.

21. Foreign Relations, 1894, pp. 560, 564.
22. See, II Moore, Digest of International Law, p. 757.
23. Printed in 29 Amer. J. of Int'l. Law Supp. (Sec. 2) (July 1935).
24. Dickinson, "Jurisdiction Following Seizure Or Arrest In Violation of International Law," 28 Amer. J. of Int'l. Law 231 (1934).
25. See: Article VII Central American Extradition Convention, 68 Pil. Pap. Amer. Union 418, 420 (June 1934).
26. Treaty on Extradition between the United States and Mexico, signed Feb. 22, 1890, 31 Stat. 1818.

C O P Y

DANIEL G. MARSHALL
Attorney at Law
Suite 258 Marlton Building
4041 Marlton Avenue
Crenshaw Center
Los Angeles 8, California
AXminster 3-6223

February 10, 1959

Subcommittee on American Republics Affairs
Foreign Relations Committee
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen:

The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, 940 Broadway, New York 10, New York, in whose behalf I address you, is vitally concerned in the developments and maintenance of amicable relations with our neighbors in the western hemisphere, as well as our particular interest in seeking justice in the case of Morton Sobell.

It is our contention that Morton Sobell was kidnapped from Mexico by agents of the United States. We likewise assert that the Government of the United States never squarely answered this contention on the merits, choosing to rest on the oft criticized doctrine of Ker v. Illinois, 119 U.S. 436. The Committee tenders herewith the enclosed memorandum stating its views.

The Committee respectfully requests that its representative be allowed to appear before your Subcommittee in support of the position urged in this memorandum. Will you please advise me at your earliest convenience of your disposition of this request.

Yours very truly,

DANIEL G. MARSHALL

dgm/rrr
enc.

Subcommittee on American Republics Affairs
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sirs:

The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell has sent me a copy of its memorandum addressed to your inquiry into relations with Latin American countries. I have read the memorandum and my conclusion is that it would be in the public interest for you to give careful consideration to the points which are raised.

Yours truly,

(name)

(address)

(city and state)

(date)

If the following conditions are met, the insured shall be entitled to a refund of the premium paid for the term of the policy, less the amount of the unearned premium, and the amount of the unearned premium shall be paid to the insured or to the beneficiary named in the policy, as follows:

Any payments made by the insured or the beneficiary for the term of the policy, for the purpose of your disability, shall be considered as a payment for the term of the policy.

NO REINSTATEMENT OF THE POLICY IS PROVIDED.

In such case, the amount of the unearned premium shall be paid to the insured or to the beneficiary named in the policy, as follows:

MAIL YOUR PAYMENT

Copy
of

APR 1957

Mr. [Name] [Address]

I am writing to you regarding the matter we discussed previously. I have reviewed the documents and find them satisfactory. I will be happy to discuss this further if you have any questions. Please let me know if you need any additional information. I will be glad to provide it to you.

Very truly yours,
[Signature]

Our Building - 55 EAST 10TH STREET, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

PAYMENT RECEIVED BY
DAILY WORKER & THE WORKER

PEOPLES CHAMPION OF LIBERTY IN PROGRESS TO PEACE AND PROSPERITY
 FROM: ALBUQUIN 4-1934
 TO: 35 EAST TWELFTH ST.
 NEW YORK 6, N. Y.

Handwritten name

DESCRIPTION	TOTAL DOLLARS	DEDUCTIONS	NET AMOUNT
SUBSCRIPTIONS			
CASH SALES BUNDLES			
ACCT. REC'Y. BUNDLES			
CASH SALES ADVERTISING			
"WHAT'S ON" NOTICES			
SUBSCRIPTIONS			
CASH SALES BUNDLES			
ACCT. REC'Y. ADVT.	✓ 75		
CASH SALES ADVERTISING			
"WHAT'S ON" NOTICES			
DONATIONS			
TOTALS			✓ 75

PAYMENT RECEIVED BY *RLC* RECEIPT NO. *111*

PAYMENT RECEIVED BY
DAILY WORKER & THE WORKER

PEOPLES CHAMPION OF LIBERTY IN PROGRESS TO PEACE AND PROSPERITY
 FROM: ALBUQUIN 4-1934
 TO: 35 EAST TWELFTH ST.
 NEW YORK 6, N. Y.

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ACCT. REC'Y. BUNDLES			
CASH SALES ADVERTISING			
"WHAT'S ON" NOTICES			
SUBSCRIPTIONS			
CASH SALES BUNDLES			
ACCT. REC'Y. ADVT.	✓ 75		
CASH SALES ADVERTISING			
"WHAT'S ON" NOTICES			
DONATIONS			

WHO Sobell Committee
[Katsman]
WHERE 325 East 17th Street
Feb. 14th 8:30 p.m. Sat. night
WHEN St. Valentine's
Run - Entertainment
Dancing - Festivities
WHAT "The Works"

barbecued
but ours are
adam
HOW First of all from
plateaus
only ribs - and by the
- we don't have heart
WHY Practically speaking

PETITION

We the undersigned do
protest that for years the day
of St. Valentine's has been
dominated by affairs of the
heart - and whereas we know
that the proper place has al-
ways been the rib. Therefore
we constitute ourselves tender-
ly and succulently THE RIB

AFFAIR

Americans for Progressive Israel

112 FOURTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Glenn 14747

BROOKLYN CHAPTER

January 20, 1959

Dear Member and Friend:

On Friday, January 30th, we are devoting the evening to a discussion of the indigenous and turbulent American phenomenon — "Integration." We are very gratified that the Reverend Milton A. Galamison, an outstanding and articulate fighter for Negro rights has generously agreed to address us on this vital subject.

REVEREND MILTON A. GALAMISON is Chairman of the Brooklyn Chapter of the NAACP and his pulpit is the Siloam Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn.

We are particularly interested to see how the American Jew has acted and reacted to the Negro fight for civil liberties, and the Reverend Galamison has promised to include this aspect of the problem. This meeting is a must for your attendance!

Place: Home of Carl and Shoshanna Appel
2004 East 13th Street

Time: Friday, January 30th - 8:30 P.M.

Directions: Brighton BMT to Avenue U
Coney Island Avenue Bus to Avenue T
Avenue U Bus to East 13th Street

Shalom,

Noam Isseroff
Moshe Katz,
Educational Committee

Charles Eisenberg
Chairman

CE:rr
Encl.

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Increased Nationalism
Assimilation?

WHICH WAY?
MINORITY GROUPS
IN AMERICA

THE
GROWN HEIGHTS
FORUM

THE GROWN HEIGHTS FORUM
cordially invites you
to attend an
informal discussion

with
HY LUMER
Lecturer, Analyst, etc.
on
SUNDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 12
at 7 P. M.
at
32 Ludlam Place
Basement
Contribution, 50¢

To find Ludlam Place
Walk down Montgomery Street
between Bedford and Rogers
Avenues



THE ABOLITION

of the International Committee of Congress



What Because of
the Government?

Spurious Instead of
Spirited?

Are Million Names
in a Secret File?

The Government
for Your Time

Fall-out From
the Investigation

How La. He Defies
"International"

What Says the
Supreme Court?



Published by THE NAUGHTON COMPANY

THE ABOLITION



What is the
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earned with his own pre-trial statement to his lawyers, that he had per-
sisted the FBI to put words in his mouth and that he'd lied to them (in
the course of the trial he supported his "lying" version). We could gloss
over the contradictions regarding the console table and we could ignore
the affidavit of his brother, Bernard Greenblatt, establishing that David
had stolen uranium from the Government and that he had perjured himself
during the Horenberg trial in denying this theft.

Because we are not sure of ourselves, we have hesitated to re-examine.

SCOPE OF

SU
ADMIN
ACT

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
FREE

James D. ...

*A. Katz,
1215 - 47th St.,
Brooklyn, 18, N.Y.*

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARING
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION
ON
SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE
UNITED STATES

APRIL 26, 1952

PART 20

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1952

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE
EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

ON
SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE
UNITED STATES

APRIL 27 AND MAY 17, 1956

PART 21

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1956

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY I

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE
EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY I

APRIL

PART

Printed for the use of the

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

Patra Agency Invites You To

VISIT

PARIS, WARSAW

and

THE SOVIET UNION

with Dr. Joshua Kunitz

Departing New York June 16, 1959

Returning from Warsaw July 23, 1959

30 Days in the Soviet Union including:

LENINGRAD, KIEV, ODESSA, YALTA, SOCHI,
Tbilisi, KARKOV, MOSCOW and MINSK

Throughout the trip Dr. Kunitz will give lectures and lead discussions. In addition to sightseeing there will be special visits to development projects in the Soviet Union and meetings with leading personalities in several fields.

All inclusive price: \$1,649.00

Round trip transportation by air

For additional information write:

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Did not know

USSR, and its own power,
by supporting South
Korea, and by voting
to brand China as an
aggressor after Mao's letter
invited on marching right
up to China's borders.

CONFIDENTIAL

...the "black flag" of war and you
will be the first to die. The only
way to survive is to stay in the party for
a while longer, of course, to stick.

...to the rank of my class,
the struggle for unity for all "black and
People, of whom "he has made a name

...the only way to survive is to stay in the party for
a while longer, of course, to stick.

...all of us have the
one little stomach to fill;
...the Earth provides all...

... of "treedledee and tweedledee"
... very slick; they consider us as if
... are a flock of sheep.
... economy is a fur, under; in fact, very
... That means night-mare, worry and
... rights without a sleep.
... "God loved" Citizens' Thirteen years
... of "treedledee and tweedledee" is too
... long; The time has come for us to change
... the tune of our song.
The Capitol Hill at Washington D.C. is the
Nation's Dome; its the place where honest
Men and Women politicians belong.

We can't afford to wait any more;
The World cannot withstand another war.
In this coming election we must not miss
this opportunity;
Make sure to elect honest politicians, for
the benefit of the whole Community.

East side, west side, all around the Nation
before the big guns begin to boom and before
the "A" & "H" bombs sent us to our doom;
on your way to vote take the broom;
oust "treedledee-tweedledee"; sweep in the
honest politicians, under them the "God loved
poor" shall bloom.

All of us do talk, strive and want peace
and security;
In this coming election all voters do have
that opportunity;
Find and elect honest Men and Women poli-
ticians and shall have a peaceful world
community.

If you are "chuck full" of nuts and don't
see how you spent your money - well, then
we say to you "that's your business"; but,
if you are "chuck full" of brains and you
smell the stench "around" of coffee monopoly
then, we say to you join the party for
a delicious cup of tea, coffee or milk.

I pay allegiance to the flag of my Country
that stands for unity; for all "God loved"
People, of whom "he has made so many of them";
and see to it that human rights come
first and, that, labor is not a commodity;
and, that the dignity of Man is a God given
right for all, regardless of race, creed or
color; to participate in the making of a peaceful
society; to secure and guarantee life,
liberty and the pursuit of happiness to
all and malice to none.

By Peter Nicholas, I-3 = 62st; NY 23 NY.

... they do, certainly, pulverize.

The spirit of the end, ~~from~~ and children
of Hiroshima-~~land~~ is alive;
Telling you American women and children,
our screams and tears, live like the bees
in a hive;
Sweeten your hearts and souls with our
honey;
Don't victimize your selves for the sake
of money.
So, fellow-American women and children
for your own sake we dramatize;
The episode of Hiroshima-~~land~~ so
that you may not win;
Now, it's up to you to take our advice.

While you're alive and while you're
in the grave;

Tell your war mongers and political
worms: "peaceful co-existence is your
only defence".

The only way to save you peace, is to
talk, talk and talk mighty fast; do it now
while you're together all in one place;
and long before the "A" & "H" bombs
begin to blast.

Tell your war-mongers; "you're endangering
your own lives"; thus, no man, outside of a
jail or a sanitarium, should be living,
on this earth;

To pull the levels from a far off or above
the skies;
To release 'N' course, to peaceful, innocent
people, destruction 'N' death.

Millions of you, women and men in Mexico
"clean" bombs;

While, at the same time reside in filthy
slums; would it not be better if you
work for your selves and build new homes?

And your war mongers; "all of us have but
one short life to live; All of us have
but one little stomach to fill;

Mother Earth provides all food all to
eat, to enjoy;
Why must you permit the evil in to your
souls?

Human beings kill, be killed and your own
homes destroy?

The Creator has given you, of all things;
brains and a pair of eyes;

It's think, to see, to do good; to make this
earth, for your selves a PARADISE.

WHY DON'T YOU?

By Peter Nicholas, I-3 = 62st; NY 23 NY.

By Peter Nicholas, 203 W. 62nd St. NY 23 NY.

Mr. & Mrs. American: Suppose you have a Chinese sitting on a bus which is on the coast, well? ... What would you think? ... And what would you say? After you see those big war ships with the 16" guns sailing up and down the coast, threatening your Country? Perhaps, with that Chinese character, self poison, and highly idealistic; Here's what you might say:

Hellwocooow... there... you... Americans! (waving your hand), you fellows... know, that, we Chinese are no trouble makers; your flag can sail and wave over our Shanghai, but not for your Wall St; Bankers. Your Merchant Marines can come to our sea Port; But, not on those ships that carry on the 16 inch guns aboard.

It seems that your Wall St; Bankers are mentally ill; however, for you Americans we have no ill will. On the contrary you have our admiration; for, you were the first ones that became revolutionaries; you were the first ones to be charged with subversion; you were the first ones that showed the whole world the human way of life; way, way, back in seventeen-seventy-five.

May you now raise your voice high and loud; to your war-mongers and to that Wall St; crowd? SAY ON TO THEM:

"We see no reason to fight any more; We want to live as well as let live; we want no part of your imperialist war.

SAY ON TO THEM:

No need to become a wailing-hungry-hound; Mother Earth provides all for all food to go around; to eat, to live, to be happy; without hate and without a worry.

SAY ON TO THEM:

Stop worrying yourselves to death; its a full span of happy life you want not the World's wealth. SAY ON TO THEM:

You can make life to be free and gay; by using your tongue the sweetest way.

SAY ON TO THEM:

Let's all be nice and fair; stop poisoning the atmosphere; we, all, need to breathe the pure, clean air. SAY ON TO THEM:

Right cannot destroy right; on the contrary, right by its self becomes right; therefore, you can't stand on the wrong side.

SAY ON TO THEM:

That we Chinese like to trade with you Americans. Buy and pay cash on the spot; But for God's with consumer goods not with human blood. SAY ON TO THEM:

We are willing to buy your goods with silver and gold; and do business with you like it is done all over the World"

English boys, oooh you poor, innocent boys; You had the chance to hear the world's Peoples voice; Telling you, that, we, Cyprians are human beings, like you, not little toys.

English boys, oooh you poor, innocent boys; We, Cyprians, would like to have you understand; That, your war-mongers are mentally ill; They got you here from a far, far off Land; And against your own free will.

English boys, oooh you poor, innocent boys; All over the world, men, women and children for you, pray; If you had your freedom; you could hear them what they say; Directing you to God's Kingdom.

English boys, oooh you poor, innocent boys; We strive to make you realize; That to be a soldier is to be a slave; But, if you listen to reason and take our advice; That, "EIGHT" by itself it becomes "MIGHT"; that's where you can become BRAVE; To live your whole life before you get in to your GRAVE.

English boys, oooh you poor, innocent boys; If, only, you had the chance to hear mother's maternal voice;

"Come home boys, come home! Don't go backwards, to wards the days of BARBAROUS ROMES. Come home boys, come home; come and meet the friends, here, where you were born; Come home boys, come home, for, here's where you belong;

Come home boys, come home do not waste another day; Come home boys, come home, here is the loveliest place to stay; Come home boys, come home, don't waste your time away; Come home boys, come home, come and meet the friends you used to play; Come home boys, come home, the only place you can be happy and gay".

A GOOD OMEN

Fellow "God loved" Americans:

When looking for a home and you find the rent and food prices too high; It's because the lunatics need more money to cross the "Moon", to built a road across the sky; Stop worrying about homes; let'em spend the tax dollars for the building of an airship; the lunatic landlords want to claim the Moon their ownership.

From the Russians they must save the Moon; Therefore, they must get there, very soon.

The lunatics love money, land and general health; We, "God loved" love freedom, happiness and all around health. We are proud of our American way of life; We mustn't let the Russians, get of us, the best; So, fellow, "God loved" Americans lets get together, and, transport our own lunatics to the Moon, first.

When the lunatic landlords reach the far off Moon and discover, to their heart's content, the vast sums of wealth; And the vast numbers of ignorant people to exploit, no need of them, to come, here, to our Earth.

YOUR WINGS:

If it hadn't been of the late, constant wars you didn't have to have a "MAKE UP". Now, for the near future, coming wars the ARTISTS (unless, of course, you wake up) will solder a pair of wings on your shoulder to fly up.

...ing one side and over the other...
not for your Wall St Bankers...
Marines can come to our aid...
those ships that carry on the...
aboard.

It seems that your Wall St Bankers
are mentally ill; however, for you Americans we
have no ill will. On the contrary you have
our admiration; for you were the first ones
that became revolutionaries; you were the first
ones to be charged with subversion; you
were the first ones that showed the whole world
the human way of life; why, why, back in sev-
enteen-seventy-five.

May you now raise your voice high
and loud; to your war-mongers and to that
Wall St crowd; SAY ON TO THEM!

"We see no reason to fight any more;
we want to live as well as let live; we want
no part of your imperialist war.

SAY ON TO THEM!
No need to become a wealth-hungry-hound; Mo-
ther Earth provides all for all food to go
around; it's out, to live, to be merry; without
hate and without a worry.

SAY ON TO THEM!
Stop worrying yourselves to death; it's a
small span of happy life you want not the
World's wealth. SAY ON TO THEM!

You can make life to be free and happy
by using your tongue the greatest way.

SAY ON TO THEM!
Let's all be nice and fair; stop poisoning
the atmosphere; we, all, need to breathe the
pure, clean air. SAY ON TO THEM!
Right cannot destroy right; on the contrary
right by its self becomes right; therefore,
you can't stand on the wrong side.

SAY ON TO THEM!
That the Chinese like to trade with you Amer-
icans; buy and pay cash on the spot;
But for God's with consumer goods not with
human blood. SAY ON TO THEM!
We are willing to buy your goods with silver
and gold; and in business with you like we
is done all over the World!

English boys, oooh you poor, innocent, boys;
You lack the chance to hear the world's Peo-
ple's voice; Telling you, that, no; by laws are
human beings, like you, not little toys.

English boys, oooh you poor, innocent boys;
We, Cyprians, would like to have you under-
stand; That, your war-mongers are mentally ill;
They got you here from a far, far off land;
And against your own free will.

English boys, oooh you poor, innocent boys;
All you can do, as, shouldering a big attack;
And all you can do, with your mouth, is, just
eat; You have brains, but, don't find a way
to speak;

F. Peter Nicholas, 148 S. 2nd St., N.Y.C.

...WAVE.
"Come home boys, come home! Don't go back-
wards; to words the days of MAFRPOUS
FORME. Come home boys, come home; come and
meet the friends, here, where you were born;
Come home boys, come home, for, here's where
you belong!
Come home boys, come home do not waste any-
other day; Come home boys, come home, here
is the levellest place to stay!
Come home boys, come home, don't waste your
time away; Come home boys, come home,
come and meet the friends you used to
play; Come home boys, come home, the only
place you can be happy and gay!"

A GOOD OMEN
Fellow "God loved" Americans!
When looking for a home and you find
the rent and food prices too high;
It's because the lunatics need more money
to cross the "Moon", to built a road across
the sky;
Stop, stop trying about here; let'em spent
the two billion for the building of an
airship; the Lunatic landlords want to
claim the Moon their ownership.

From the Russians they must have the Moon;
Therefore, they want not there, very soon.

The Lunatics love money, land and general
health; so, "God loved" love freedom, happi-
ness and all around health;
We are proud of our American way of life;
We mustn't let the Russians, get of us, the
best; So, fellow, "God loved" Americans let's
get together, and, transport our own Lunatics
to the Moon, first.

Then the Lunatic landlords reach
the far off Moon and discover, to their
heart's content, the vast sums of wealth;
And the vast numbers of ignorant people to
exploit, no need of them, to come, here, to
see an Earth.

YOUR WORK IS:
If it hadn't been for the late, constant
war you didn't have to have a "MAKE UP"
job, for the near future, coming wars the
ARTISERS (unless, of course, you wake up)
will solder a pair of wings on your shoul-
der to fly up.

Historical you have found hell; I rest and
shake hands with a soldier; its O.K. for you
to lead the Wall Street crowd; but, if
you can, then, show the Streets to find
a job, that's better than being a soldier;
Don't waste!

I AM INNOCENT

Morton Sobell

WHAT DOES JUSTICE FOR MORTON SOBELL MEAN TO YOU?

To those individuals who signed the Appeal to the President for clemency or a new trial for Morton Sobell, Justice for Morton Sobell means a great deal:

Harold A. Granefield, legal counsel United Auto Workers
John F. Finerty, attorney in Sacco-Vanzetti and Mooney-Billings cases
Dr. Harold C. Urey, Nobel Prize scientist
Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel Prize scientist
Prof. Malcolm Sharp, University of Chicago Law School
Prof. Francis D. McCormick, University of Utah
Prof. Stephen Love, Northwestern University.

These are a few of the thousands of individuals who signed the Appeal.

MORTON SOBELL, scientist, is an outstanding victim of the McCarthy era. On the word of a single witness, he was condemned to 30 years on charges of "conspiracy to commit espionage" in the trial that resulted in the execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. The witness who accused Sobell was a confessed perjurer who escaped prison by his testimony. Since his arrest and throughout his 8 years of imprisonment, Morton Sobell has fought to prove his innocence.

LIKE OTHER IMPORTANT CASES OF THE PAST

Warren K. Billings, who was named with Tom Mooney in one of America's shameful anti-labor cases, sees the importance of the Morton Sobell case. He says:

"I am a free man today for two reasons. First, I was innocent. Second, enough Americans cared about justice to work, search, investigate and pay for my freedom and that of Tom Mooney.

"Morton Sobell will be free. He is innocent, and enough Americans care about decency to set him free."

Warren Billings is now working on behalf of Morton Sobell.

Miscarriages of justice provide a climate of fear in which the civil liberties of each of us are endangered. This is why the labor movement, knowing that an injury to one is an injury to all, has always fought against frame-ups, as in the cases of Mooney, Billings, Joe Hill and Sacco and Vanzetti. This is why we ask you to act now for justice for Morton Sobell.

WHAT YOU CAN DO:

1. Find out the facts in the case of Morton Sobell and talk them over with your fellow union members.
2. Put the case of Morton Sobell on the agenda of your local meeting as other union locals have done. Ask a representative of the Sobell Committee to talk about the case.
3. Pass a resolution asking President Eisenhower to grant clemency or a new trial for Morton Sobell.

For information contact the New York Committee

These are a few of the thousands of individuals who signed the Appeal.

MORTON SOBELL, scientist, is an outstanding victim of the McCarthy era. On the word of a single witness, he was condemned to 30 years on charges of "conspiracy to commit espionage" in the trial that resulted in the execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. The witness who accused Sobell was a confessed perjurer who escaped prison by his testimony. Since his arrest and throughout his 8 years of imprisonment, Morton Sobell has fought to prove his innocence.

LIKE OTHER IMPORTANT CASES OF THE PAST

Warren V. Billings, who was named with Tom Mooney in one of America's shameful anti-labor cases, sees the importance of the Morton Sobell case. He says:

"I am a free man today for two reasons. First, I was innocent. Second, enough Americans cared about justice to work, search, investigate and pay for my freedom and that of Tom Mooney.

"Morton Sobell will be free. He is innocent, and enough Americans care about decency to set him free."

Warren Billings is now working on behalf of Morton Sobell.

Miscarriages of justice provide a climate of fear in which the civil liberties of each of us are endangered. This is why the labor movement, knowing that an injury to one is an injury to all, has always fought against frame-ups, as in the cases of Mooney, Billings, Joe Hill and Sacco and Vanzetti. This is why we ask you to act now for justice for Morton Sobell.

WHAT YOU CAN DO:

1. Find out the facts in the case of Morton Sobell and talk them over with your fellow union members.
2. Put the case of Morton Sobell on the agenda of your local meeting as other union locals have done. Ask a representative of the Sobell Committee to talk about the case.
3. Pass a resolution asking President Eisenhower to grant clemency or a new trial for Morton Sobell.

For information contact the New York Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, 340 Broadway, New York City. Contributions and volunteer help are needed.

PLEASE SIGN THE APPEAL TO THE PRESIDENT

By Peter Nicholas 1466-0282; NY 23 NY.

By Peter Nicholas 1408 67 St, NY 23 NY.

being to vote? Take the broom, with you, among out the war g moneys replace 'em with "God-lovers" of whom, under, the People can choose? S. I am voting--Independent Socialist

"GOD LOVES" AFRICAN VOTERS!

Unless that Wall Street CPUD; from Capital Hill and the White House get out; No need to play "GOD BLESS AMERICA" we can not feel PROUD.

Mr. DULLES:

You said: "no harm to bring the World at the brink of war". But, while you are bringing the World at its BRINK; we like to know what kind of stuff is that that which you BRINK?

YOUR WOMEN:

If it hadn't been of the late, comrade, wars you didn't have to have a "MILITARY" war; for the near future wars the Artists (musicians, of course, you take up) will soldier a pair of wings on your shoulders to fly up.

Mr. PRESIDENT

Knowing the condition of your health; from that point of view you cannot be blamed; for wanting the POSITION OF "SPREAD". But, Mr. President, what worries and makes the public bolt; is, how come that you want to become an Atlas and take the Earth on your shoulder.

All of us do talk, strive for peace and security; in this election, vote have that opportunity; elect honest Men and Women of the Independent Socialist Party and you shall have a peaceful World Community.

If you are "chuck full" of mits and don't care how you spent your money--well--then, we say to you: "that's your business" but if you are "chuck full" of brains and you smell the starchy aroma of coffee monopoly, then, we say to you join the party for a delicious soup of tea, cocoa or milk.

I pay allegiance to the flag of my Country that stands for unity, for all "God-loved" People of whom he has made so many of them; and see to it that human rights, come first and, that, labor is not a commodity; and, that, the dignity of man is a God-given right for all regardless of race, creed or color; to participate in the making of a perfect Society, peace and guaranty, life, liberty and the result of happiness in all and malice to a

WHY DON'T YOU?

The spirit of Hiroshima-Nagasaki's dead is alive and it upsets! You Americans fail to recognize; that people are logical human beings, not guinea pigs.

You seem to be curious. Must you see it with your own eyes?; In other words, must you die first so that you may realize?; that atomic dropped from the skies, certainly, depulverize. The spirit of us, dead, women and children of Hiroshima-Nagasaki is alive; Telling you American Women and Children; your screams and tears live like the bees in a hive. Injected your hearts and souls with our honey; don't victimize your selves for the sake of money.

So, while you are alive and while you have the chance; tell your war mongers; that you are opposing; your own lives and that, peaceful coexistence is the only defoged

The only way to have your peace is to talk, talk and talk right fast; do it now while you are together and all in one piece; and long before the "a-a-h" words begin to blurt.

Tell your war-mongers and your political chair warmers; no Man, out side of a jail or a sanatorium should be sitting on this Earth; to pull the levers from a far off or above the skies; to release and cause to peaceful, innocent people destruction and death.

Million of you, now, are working in making "cigar" coats; while at the same time, reside in filthy slums; would it not be better if you were working for your selves building new homes?

Tell your war mongers; "all of us have but one short life to live; all of us have but one little chance to fill; Mother Earth provides all for all food to eat, to enjoy; why must you permit the in to your souls? HUMAN BEINGS KILL, BE KILLED and your own homes destroyed?"

The creator has given you, of all things, brains and a pair of eyes; to think, to see, to do good; to make this Earth, for your selves, a PARADISE. WHY DON'T YOU?

MR. D'S. AMERICAN:

If you hang around Wall Street and shake hands with a brezer; its O K for you to read the Wall Street Journal; but, if you TRAMP TRAMP TRAMP the Streets to find a job?

Mr. & Mrs. AMERICAN you have better read the Daily Worker.

By Peter Nicholas, 1408 67 St, NY 23 NY.

Mindy Goldberg

66 E 75th St

NY 31 NY

GA5-5391

Alfred

425 E 12th NYC

Y02-2909

TWENTY QUESTIONS ON CIVIL LIBERTIES

Do you believe in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights—but how do you feel they should be interpreted today, in times of domestic complexity and world tension? The framers of this quiz realize that these short statements may not pose the issues with absolute impartiality, but it should tell you where you stand on many of the American Civil Liberties Union's policies (which were not all adopted unanimously by the ACLU Board, it seldom agrees 100% on any question).

To check whether you and the ACLU agree on the statements below, put a "Y" for "yes" or "N" for "no" if you agree, or "A" for "agree" or "N" for "no" if you disagree.

1. Government employees accused of disloyalty should have the right to know the sources of information against them and to controvert their accusations. **(Y)**
2. Films and other images should be allowed to depict books and movies such as "Ten Nights in a Barbershop" or "Baby Doll." **(Y)**
3. Personal ability alone should determine employment, regardless of the applicant's race, religion or national origin. **(Y)**
4. The teaching of sectarian religion should be permitted in public schools. **(Y)**
5. The character of a soldier's Army discharge should be based solely on his active duty record, rather than on his pre-induction political associations. **(Y)**
6. State universities are justified in using a quota system to limit enrollment by members of certain racial and religious groups. **(Y)**
7. Citizens in the United States should have the same right to make public speeches as other political leaders. **(Y)**
8. Trade unions are entitled to restrict their membership on the basis of color, religion or national origin. **(Y)**
9. Any private individual should have the right to criticize any government or government official anywhere in the world. **(Y)**
10. Police officials should have the right to listen in on private phone conversations. **(Y)**
11. Employers should be permitted to warn their views regarding labor unions to their workers. **(Y)**
12. Movies, plays and books should be suppressed if they present an offensive characterization of a particular racial or religious group. **(Y)**
13. Everyone who claims the privilege against self-incrimination when asked to be a Communist must be one. **(Y)**
14. Labor's right to picket includes the right to deny access to struck plants by force of numbers. **(Y)**
15. Segregation in public schools violates the equal protection of the laws guaranteed to all Americans by the 14th Amendment. **(Y)**
16. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and go never to his country. **(Y)**
17. Congress should investigate political beliefs and associations in order to determine whether they are "un-American." **(Y)**
18. The Post Office is justified in refusing to deliver unidentified foreign propaganda material to certain addresses. **(Y)**
19. Tests of government employee loyalty should be confined to sensitive positions involving military, atomic or international affairs. **(Y)**
20. Government and college teachers should be required to sign a special non-Communist loyalty oath. **(Y)**

PLAY FAIR—DON'T CHECK YOUR SCORE UNTIL YOU ANSWER ALL TWENTY QUESTIONS. In the ACLU's opinion, you get 5 POINTS each for answering "Y" to numbers 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 16, 19, and 5 POINTS each for answering "N" to numbers 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 15, 14, 17, 18, 20.

IF YOU SCORE 75 OR MORE
then you agree substantially with the American Civil Liberties Union.

It means you belong in spirit to the ACLU.
Put your belief in civil liberties to work by joining the one national organization which fights—52 weeks a year—for the liberties you cherish. Use membership blank on the other side of this quiz.

WHATEVER YOUR SCORE SHE OVER

SAVE THIS QUIZ TRY IT ON YOUR FRIENDS

"The American Civil Liberties Union [is a] useful and thoroughly patriotic organization. . . . To expect patriotism with conformity, orthodoxy, and name-calling is dangerous nonsense, and this cannot be pointed out too often."
—The New York Times

"I do not agree with a word you say," said Voltaire, "but I will defend to the death your right to say it." It would be hard to find a more searching test of the patriotism of democratic sentiments than it impacts in this famous dictum. And it would be equally hard to find an organization that subjects itself to this test more often and more willingly than does the American Civil Liberties Union."
—The Christian Science Monitor

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

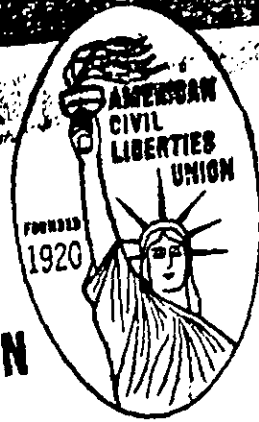
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WHATEVER YOUR SCORE...
 you have an interest
 in civil liberties!

Protect it by joining
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION



The ACLU is the only permanent national non-partisan organization devoted solely to defending the Bill of Rights for everybody. The Union fights for the civil liberties even of those whose anti-democratic opinions it abhors. But the ACLU has fought for governing councils all over the country.

Today the ACLU with its Joint and National Committees of leaders in every field, its twenty-four state and city affiliates (and their many sub-officers), its corps of volunteer lawyers, and its experienced staff, is engaged primarily on four fronts. YOU have a stake in the American Civil Liberties Union's fight in these four areas, among others:

● AGAINST those indiscriminate federal, state and local measures which, though aimed at Communists, threaten the civil liberties of all Americans.

● TO ELIMINATE ~~segregated class citizenship for Negroes, Whites, Chinese, American Indians and other minorities.~~

● AGAINST both governmental and private pressure group censorship of movies, plays, books, newspapers, magazines, radio, and television.

● TO PROMOTE fair procedures in court trials, congressional and administrative hearings.

The ACLU needs and welcomes the support of all those — and only those — whose devotion to civil liberties is not qualified by adherence to Communist, Fascist, KKK, or other totalitarian doctrine.

YOU ARE NEEDED TOO — as a member of the ACLU. The Union depends on its 40,000 members (our enrollment has doubled in the past five years) for its entire support. To meet the challenge of the times, we need 10,000 new members this year. USE THE MEMBERSHIP BLANK BELOW to become a \$10 member, if possible, but JOIN — whatever dues you can afford. You will be affiliating yourself with an important organization, and you will have a part in keeping America a home of freedom.

FREE TO ALL NEW MEMBERS:

The ACLU's annual massive Annual Report on U.S. civil liberties.

ACLU members of the following classifications receive *Civil Liberties* each month and the Union's Annual Report on U.S. Liberties, and are entitled to single copies of some 25 pamphlets currently available:

PARTICIPATING MEMBER	\$100
COOPERATING MEMBER	\$50
SUPPORTING MEMBER	\$25
SUPPORTING MEMBER	\$10
CONTRIBUTING MEMBER	25

Associate Members of \$2 receive *Civil Liberties* and the Annual Report. Weekly bulletins available on request to contributors of \$10 and over. Members living in the following states and city areas also belong to the nearest local ACLU organization, without payment of additional dues: *Southwest, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Rhode Island, Texas, Virginia, New York, Philadelphia and St. Louis.* If you live in one of these areas, your checks will automatically receive a share of your contributions. (The same plan applies to all new branches organized.) The more you give, the larger its share. Be as generous as you can! All requests sent to the appropriate division of the Union's National Committee.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
 National Office
 170 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.

Please enroll me as a NEW MEMBER of the ACLU.

Here is my \$_____ membership contribution, 50¢ of which is for a one-year subscription to *Civil Liberties*.

PLEASE PRINT CLEARLY

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

ZONE _____

STATE _____

Occupation _____

0 1 1 1

"WHAT ARE WE WORRIED ABOUT?" and "HOW THE PEOPLE FEEL ABOUT COLLECTIVISM AND CIVIL LIBERTIES" by Samuel A. Stouffer, Professor of Sociology at Harvard University, are the two articles appearing in LOOK Magazine, March 22 and April 5 issues, from which these statistics are quoted.

While Professor Stouffer alone assumed the responsibility for the articles they are based on "one of the most searching public opinion surveys ever conducted in the United States. Under a \$125,000 grant from the Fund for the Republic, the study was planned by Frank Stanton, President CBS; Logan Wilson, President, University of Texas; Roscoe Drummond, New York Herald Tribune; Porter Chandler, attorney; Prof. Paul Lazarsfeld, Columbia; Prof. Alexander Lighton, Cornell. I (Dr. Stouffer) was privileged to serve as chairman." (quoted from the first article)

"Identical questions were asked by two leading organizations (the American Institute of Public Opinion, the "Callup Poll," and the National Opinion Research Center) who worked independently of each other. Each organization conducted detailed interviews, which lasted well over an hour each with its own carefully selected sample of approximately 2,000 Americans. At the same time 1,000 community leaders were interviewed to see how their opinions might differ from those of the American public-at-large." (quoted from statement by the Editors in the first article.)

With regard to the leaders interviewed, "In selected towns and cities, each of the following was interviewed: the Mayor, President of the Chamber of Commerce, chairman of the Community Chest, president of a labor union, chairman of both the Republican and the Democratic County Central Committee, commander of the largest American Legion post, president of the local council of parent-teacher associations, regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution, president of the Bar Association and the publisher of the newspaper with the largest circulation." (quoted from the first article)

THESE STATISTICS ARE AN ILLUSTRATION CITED BY ONE OF THE MAIN SPEAKERS AT AN INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM, RESEARCH ASSOCIATE, CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, AND LECTURER ON SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, WHO BELIEVES THAT THESE STATISTICS WHICH ARE SO IMPORTANT TO CONSIDER CAREFULLY AS TO HOW THE FUTURE AGENCY SHOULD OR AS WE PARTICIPATE IN IT, I HAVE UNDERSTOOD SOME OF THEM SO THAT YOU CAN CONSIDER THEM LATER AT YOUR CONVENIENCE.

2

WHAT ARE WE WORRIED ABOUT?

	<u>PUBLIC</u>	<u>LEADERS</u>
Personal and Family : Economic Problems	43%	28%
Personal and Family: Health Problems	24%	16%
Other personal and family problems	30%	38%
<u>World Problems, including war</u>	<u>6%</u>	<u>22%</u>
<u>Other national and local problems</u>	<u>8%</u>	<u>25%</u>
<u>Communists or civil liberties</u>	<u>1%</u>	<u>5%</u>
Never worry	5%	11%

The polls were begun when national interest in the Army-McCarthy hearings was at its most intense peak; yet in spite of the daily headlines and television coverage, less than 1% of the American public themselves volunteered any concern about the internal Communist threat. The concern of Americans over civil liberties seems to be even lower: Only 20 out of almost 5000 persons volunteered any mention of matters (then prominent in the news) such as the treatment of witnesses before committees in Washington, challenges to the loyalty of educators and scientists, local vigilante action, etc.

After the interviewers asked a directly pointed question, deliberately designed to cue people into expressing opinions about political problems 52% in the cross section had nothing to add! The number who NOW expressed a concern about world affairs rose from 6% to 30%, even though their concern often seemed to be expressed matter-of-factly: "Oh, yes, I'd say I'm concerned about what's going on in the world."

The number of people who NOW mentioned the internal Communist threat rose from less than 1% to 6%.

The number who now mentioned a concern over civil liberties rose to 2%.

Of the community leaders 50% now expressed concern about world affairs. Whereas only a few had first indicated any concern over Communists, now 14% did. As for civil liberties, the number now rose--to 3%.

On specific questions regarding FREEDOM OF SPEECH 87% felt as free as always to speak freely. 13% did not.

In order to see what their concept of freedom of speech was other questions were asked the results of which are demonstrated on the following page:

VIEWS & COMMENTS

PUBLISHED BY THE LIBERTARIAN LEAGUE
815 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 4, N.Y. BOX 946, 320 THIRD AVENUE, SEATTLE 4, WASH.

November-December 1966

Number Nine

THE SPANISH UNDERGROUND UNIONS SPEAK OUT

A Plenum of Regional Committees of the National Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.) was held somewhere in Spain on Sept. 24-25 last. All regions, excepting one, were represented by delegations. The Plenum expressed satisfaction with the work and with the positions taken by the Spanish Libertarian Movement in exile. Plans were made for continuing and intensifying the activities of the underground movement along the same general lines as in the recent period. Two new underground regional newspapers are to be published.

A strong resolution was approved, in which the underground C.N.T. condemns the attitude of the democratic powers, as well as that of all who temporize with Franco's regime. They declare that neither the Spanish working class, nor the Spanish people as a whole, will accept any whitewash of Franco's dictatorship which was established through the open support of Hitler and Mussolini. In conclusion, the resolution declares: "The C.N.T. maintains an independent attitude vis-a-vis any bloc of powers, allied for purposes of war or imperialism, and declares its complete support of peace among the peoples and of international solidarity of the workers over and beyond all differences of race, belief, or political or social systems."

WHAT WE STAND FOR

Two great power blocs struggle for world domination. Neither of these represents the true interests and welfare of Humanity. Their conflict threatens mankind with atomic destruction. Underlying both of these blocs are institutions that breed exploitation, inequality and oppression.

Without trying to legislate for the future we feel that we can indicate the general lines along which a solution to these problems can be found.

The exploitative societies of today must be replaced by a new libertarian world which will proclaim — Equal freedom for all in a free socialist society. "Freedom" without socialism leads to privilege and injustice; "Socialism" without freedom is totalitarianism.

The monopoly of power which is the state must be replaced by a world-wide federation of free communities, labor councils and/or co-operatives operating according to the principles of free agreement. The government of men must be replaced by a functional society based on the administration of things.

Centralism which means regimentation from the top down must be replaced by federalism which means co-operation from the bottom up.

The LIBERTARIAN LEAGUE will not accept the old socio-political clichés, but will boldly explore new roads while examining anew the old movements, drawing from them all that which time and experience has proven to be valid.

LIBERTARIAN FORUM

ROUND TABLE YOUTH DISCUSSIONS
Every Friday at 8

LIBERTARIAN CENTER
815 Broadway (between 11th & 12th Sts.)
New York City

CONCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL REVOLUTION

The following extracts are from "1917 - The Russian Revolution Re-
viewed". Copies of the book can be obtained by writing to Views and
Comments, Price \$3.50

As a general rule, an erroneous interpretation - or, more
often, one that was deliberately inaccurate - pretended that
the libertarian conception implied the absence of all organiza-
tion. Nothing is further from the truth. It is a question,
not of 'organization or non-organization', but of TWO DIFFERENT
PRINCIPLES OF ORGANIZATION.

All revolutions necessarily begin in a more or less sponta-
neous manner, therefore in a confused, chaotic way. It goes
without saying - and the libertarians understood this as well
as the others - that if a revolution remains in that primitive
stage, it will fail. Immediately after the spontaneous impetus,
the principle of organization has to intervene in a revolution
as in all other human activity. And it is then that the grave
question arises: What should be the manner and basis of this
organization?

One school maintains that a central directing group - an
'elite' group - ought to be formed to take in hand the whole
work, lead it according to its conception, impose the latter
on the whole community, establish a government and organize
a state, dictate its will to the populace, impose its 'laws' by
force and violence, suppress, suppress and even eliminate those
who are not in agreement with it.

Their opponents (the anarchists) consider that such a concep-
tion is absurd, contrary to the fundamental principles of hu-
man evolution and, in the last analysis, more than sterile
and harmful to the work undertaken. Naturally, the anarchists
say it is necessary that society be organized. But this orga-
nization should be done freely, socially and certainly from
the bottom. The principle of organization should arise, not
from a center created in advance to monopolize the whole and
impose itself upon it, but - that is exactly the opposite -
from all quarters, to lead to points of no-organization, natural
centers designed to serve all these quarters.

Of course it is necessary that the organizing spirit, that
men capable of carrying on organization - the 'elite' - should
intervene, and, in every place and under all circumstances,
all those valuable humans should freely participate in the com-
mon work, AS TRUE COLLABORATORS AND NOT AS DICTATORS.

It is necessary that they, especially, create an example and
employ themselves in grouping, co-ordinating, organizing, using
good will, initiative and knowledge, and all the capacities and
attitudes without dominating, subjugating or oppressing anyone.
Such individuals would be TRUE ORGANIZERS and their work would be
A TRUE ORGANIZATION, fertile and solid because it would be ra-
tional, human and effectively progressive.

"Whereas the other 'organization', IMITATING THAT OF THE OLD SOCIETY OF OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION AND, THEREFORE, ADAPTED TO THOSE TWO GOALS, would be sterile and unstable, because it would not conform to the new purposes and, therefore, would not be at all progressive."

#####

"According to the libertarian thesis, it is the labouring masses themselves who, by means of the various class organizations, factory committees, industrial and agricultural unions, co-operatives et cetera, federated and centralized ON A BASIS OF REAL NEEDS, should apply themselves everywhere to solving the problems of waging the revolution. By their powerful and fertile action, because they are free and conscious, they should co-ordinate their efforts throughout the whole country."

"As for the 'elite', their role, according to the libertarians, is to HELP the masses, enlighten them, teach them, give them the necessary advice, impel them to take the initiative, provide them with an example and support them in their action - BUT NOT DIRECT THEM GOVERNMENTALLY."

"The libertarians hold that a favorable solution of the problems of the revolution can result only from the freely and consciously collective and united work of millions of men and women who bring to it and harmonize in it, all the variety of their needs and interests, their strength and capacities, their gifts, aptitudes, inclinations, professional knowledge and understanding."

"By the natural interplay of their economic, technical and social organizations, and with the help of the 'elite' and, in case of need, under the protection of their freely organized armed forces, the labouring masses should, in the view of the libertarians, be able to carry effectively forward and progressively arrive at the practical achievement of their tasks."

#####

Pertinent to the subject discussed above are these lines from Rudolf Hecker's "Nationalism and Culture" -

"Federalism is organic collaboration of all social forces towards a common goal on the basis of covenants freely arrived at. Federalism is not disintegration of creative activity, not chaotic running hither and thither; it is the united work and effort of all members for the freedom and welfare of all. ... Monopoly of power must disappear, together with monopoly of property, that men may be eased of the weight which vests like a mountain on their souls and cripples the wings of the spirit... The sense of dependence on a higher power, that source of all religious and political bondage which ever chains man to the past and blocks the path to a brighter future will yield place to an enlightenment which makes man himself the master of his fate."

LESSONS OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

Many of the great lessons of the Spanish Revolution are to be found in the exemplary lives of the thousands of revolutionary workers - most of them anonymous - who lived and died for it. In this issue, Views and Comments reprints in translation from "CNT" of Toulouse (16 Oct. 55), the obituary notice of one of these comrades who recently died in exile. The movement which produced such revolutionists can never be definitively crushed. Such a revolution must ultimately triumph.

SEBASTIAN BOLTAINA

Anarchists have a way of dying where they stand, like the trees, without ever having been on their knees. It was so that our old comrade, Sebastian Boltaina, ended his days in the General Hospital of Montpellier, on Sept. 23rd, after a long and difficult illness.

He had begged us that his funeral be an intimate, civil affair without flowers or ostentation of any sort, which last request was fulfilled. One of the comrades spoke a few words on the life of our departed friend. The Local Federation of this city and the International Libertarian movement have lost much with his passing.

Boltaina was a man of great self-abnegation and a defender of our anti-statism. His quiet nature never imposed itself and he was usually able to persuade by his example and kindly manner.

His early youth was spent in France - mostly in Paris, where he came to know the ideas to which he later devoted all of his energies. He was well liked by all who came into contact with him.

When the so-called republic was proclaimed in 1931, he realized that the moment had come for a great forward surge on the part of the C.N.T. Now was the time to advance the ideals of that organization with renewed vigor and intensified activity. He returned to Spain throwing himself completely into the struggle. The role of the political charlatans of the republic was fast becoming obvious as the masses of the Iberian people underwent ever greater hunger and privation.

Boltaina redoubled his efforts in humanity's cause and suffered repeated persecution. But threats and persecution did not deter him. He fought on in the underground with the will and persistence that characterize those who are dedicated to the overthrow of tyranny. Stoically and with enthusiasm, he overcame obstacles.

July 19th, 1936 arrived and comrade Boltaina was among the many thousands who did not rest until the fascist rebellion had been crushed in Catalonia. He then moved to Valderrobres (Prov. of Teruel) to help organize the agricultural collectives.

He found satisfaction in working tirelessly with other comrades, laying the foundations of the new society. Later, the hordes of the Stalinist Lister, - incapable of constructive activity, themselves and jealous of the imposing achievement of the C.N.T. - assaulted the collectives and imprisoned the members of their councils, who only escaped the sinister

squad of the "Shaka" thanks to the protests of the whole IRL movement. Comrade Peltaina had been among those marked for...

In exile, Comrade Peltaina never lost contact with the people who carried the banner for the ideals of the Revolution. In 1937 years, after returning to jail as a result of his arrest, Comrade Peltaina would have dictated reports but his imprisonment prevented him to be a burden to others. He would not stop working, he organized the prisoners which carried him off to a prison...

What an exemplary life this comrade lived! His spirit was still very present. He left his savings to S.I.A. (International Socialist Antifascists) to be used for the needs of the movement.

Rest in peace, Comrade Peltaina. The libertarian world that you have left behind you, your life, and with your unswerving conduct, will continue and in the near future bear fruits of victory for the cause.

Our sense of loss is united with that of Comrade Peltaina's death in Spain.

The Libertarian Federation of Montpelier (France)

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FROM THE ANARCHIC SYNDICALISTS OF ARGENTINA

...the workers' movement of the country... the workers' movement... no more... be many of all who would not... the struggle for political power... entered in a... old labor front, the CTA... contain... that no... like the new lot, can give...

On Sept. 20, 1938 the CGRA... issued a manifesto which declared... or by... the workers... these truly revolutionary... ship a feeling for freedom... of useful labor. Therefore, the...

"After a half century of active existence, the CGRA stands... one organization in all the... libertarian and free of... against... The CGRA... term...

OUR INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT

The Libertarian Association of Cuba - ALC

The Libertarian Association of Cuba has approximately 1,000 members throughout the country. Most of these are organized in syndical groups by industry, although quite a few of them, especially in the small towns, operate individually.

Our principal work and our main influence is in the organized labor movement, and the majority of our members are active in labor unions. We also have a number of student members in secondary schools. In various places outside of Havana, our members are active in other types of organizations - neighborhood associations, recreational organizations etc.

In each labor organization where our Association has members, they form a syndical group to work within it. Sometimes the syndical groups include workers who, although not members of our Association, accept our general orientation.

In this manner, our position finds expression in about a hundred local unions throughout the island, where we share the leadership with other elements. We have minority representation in the leadership of the 5 Provincial Labor Federations and in 10 of the National Federations of Industry. Two of our comrades are on the Executive Committee of the National Confederation of Workers (Confederación de Trabajadores de Cuba - CTC)

As regards the organization of the ALC itself, there are groups or local Associations in each locality where we have members. These local groups maintain relations directly one with the other and, also, with the National Council located in Havana, which is composed of representatives of the local Associations and groups.

We have usually been able to publish a newspaper of our own, which was suppressed after Batista seized power on March 10, 1952. However, our voice is still heard through Solidaridad Gastronómica, a paper published by our syndical group in the food workers' industry, where we have our strongest foothold.

The Libertarian Youth, which is auxiliary to the ALC, holds regular discussion meetings at our hall in Havana. When it was possible to do so, we hold occasional public mass meetings of our own in union halls, theaters and public squares. In the recent period, we have had to limit ourselves to participating in such meetings under auspices of natural groups etc., in which some comrade of ours speaks in the name of the ALC. We hope soon to re-issue our own paper. At this point the main difficulty is financial.

With deep sorrow, we report the death in McKean Colony, N.Y., of our beloved comrade MILLY WITCOFF ROCKER. She died in her 79th year. Memorial services in New York City, were attended by approximately 500 persons. To comrade Rudolph Rocker, her companion during many years of life and struggle, the friends and members of the Libertarian Association extend their heartfelt sympathy in his bereavement.

SPANISH - RUSSIAN INTERVIEWS

(All items on this page are reprinted from Iberica, November 15, 1955)

Reports from reliable sources indicate that a normalization of relations between Russia and Spain is more advanced than is generally known. Representatives of the Spanish and Russian governments met during October in Lisbon and formulated a preliminary agreement to the effect that the radios of the two countries refrain from further attacks on each other's regimes.

And conversations have taken place in Paris during the past few weeks between representatives of the two countries, and both countries hope to arrive at important concrete agreements.

#####

RUSSIAN DELEGATION IN SPAIN

The International Congress of Industrial Chemistry which opened in Madrid on October 23 was attended by a delegation from the Soviet Union composed of nine members, eight men and one woman. The Chairman of the delegation was Dr. Nazarov of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. The Russian delegation brought a message, addressed to the President of the Republic, from the President and Secretary of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

The Spanish Minister of Education, Sr. Ruiz Gimpera, has stated that: "The Russian presence here, is not at all strange. We live in a free country, and these Russians are technicians."

#####

SPANISH DELEGATION TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Spain has sent an official delegation to the Industrial Fair at Brno, Czechoslovakia. This is another manifestation of the improved relations between Spain and the Soviet bloc.

#####

ABC AND THE KREMLIN

The Madrid newspaper ABC reports in its issue of October 19 that the Kremlin is willing to re-establish diplomatic relations with the Holy See, on condition that the Vatican agree to the principle of the establishment of concordats between the churches of the eastern European countries and their governments. ABC describes this Soviet offer as "sincere."

#####

NOTICE

--- Because of lack of finances, "Individual Action" is forced to suspend publication. We would like to thank those readers of Views and Comments who have graciously supported us through three trying years. --- JOHN COLESTEIN

A PROFITABLE LOVE AFFAIR

Those who kept up with the Communist press of Spain during the civil war years (1936 - 1939) will perhaps recall its accusation that Mussolini was a wetcher. This referred to the fact that he had not paid for the aviation gasoline which Russia had been exporting to Italy ever since the Abyssinian war. Intending merely to show that Il Duce was an all around louse, the C.P. unwittingly reminded people that the Italian air force which was then bombing the cities of Loyalist Spain, operated largely on Soviet fuel.

There are some of us who have not forgotten. So that it comes as no great surprise to learn that Hispano-Russian trade relations have continued almost without interruption since 1947. The chief items of exchange are lead, mercury and textiles from Spain to Russia - and wheat, cotton and petroleum in return. It will be interesting to watch this commerce expand and become more open as diplomatic relations between the two military dictatorships are placed on a more comfortable footing.

Steps are being taken to ease the mutual hostility into which both governments were forced by the exigencies of propaganda. The Spanish and Russian radios seem to have agreed not to attack each other's governments. And Franco has just declared (Dec. 1, 1955) that the death of Stalin and the execution of Beria have eliminated the "police terror" - that with military men assuming complete control of the country the situation of the Russian people has been alleviated.

~~the Russian front, have been repatriated from Soviet concentration camps while an equally considerable number of Spanish anti-fascists remain in said camps. With Madrid playing host to Soviet scientists (at the International Congress of Standardization) and sending official commercial visitors to the Brno Industrial Fair in Czechoslovakia, the ice would appear to be definitely broken.~~

Presumably the first passes were made by the Kremlin, for the Franco regime must consider its obligations to Washington and Vatican City. It can hardly afford to lose face in these two capitals by taking an aggressive male role in the budding romance. But it is sorely tempted by the many millions of dollars' worth of Spanish gold held by Russia.

This gold was taken as partial payment for the miserable trickle of arms and wheat sent by Russia to Loyalist Spain - the rest of the payment being exacted in the form of enormous military and police powers given by the Loyalist government to the insignificant Communist party of Spain. If the establishment of a Moscow-Madrid axis should now result in the transfer of these golden millions, it would be but the logical conclusion of a process which began during the civil war.

We refer to the Stalinist military assaults against the collectives of Aragon, their attempts to muzzle the Spanish Anarchist press, the murders of Durutti, Ascaso and Berneri, and the unceasing efforts of the Communists to destroy those organizations such as the C.N.T., which were the first to resist Franco's seizure of power. And it looks as though the Caudillo is beginning to understand that the Kremlin can be as useful to him in the future as it has been in the past.

#####

RADIO TRAINING

A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF A WAR

The straw dummy hung grotesquely from the tree limb. The arms and legs stuck out stiffly and it swayed slightly in the hot wind, like a corpse on the gallows.

"Okay you guys. Run and stick it. And remember, it's alive and it's the enemy and you hate his guts. Load off, Russell."

The sergeant stepped back and Russell ran forward, crunched over and slid his bayonet into the dummy with a long, smooth movement. As he ran back with an easy stride, Peter could see he was smiling.

Then Jones ran out and was sticking the dummy with short, furious jabs, and when he trotted back, Peter noticed that he was panting and that his big, beefy face was flushed deep red.

Then it was Peter's turn and as he ran at the dummy, he only noticed that it looked rather like a man, and that the sky was a deep blue behind it. He jabbed at it once, half-heartedly, just touching the worn khaki jacket, and trotted back.

Anderson, the sergeant roared, sternly, "Now go back and rip his guts out."

Peter felt his cheeks get hot and for once, surprising himself, he spoke back. He was angry now, really angry, for the first time since he had been drafted. He had hated it all along, but for some reason, now it all exploded in a blinding rage.

"I can't. It looks like a man."

"Of course it does, you sonofabitch. It's the enemy."

"I don't care if he is. He's a man, just like you and me."

"Why you dirty goddamn bastard," screamed the sergeant, running at Peter with his fists clenched.

Peter watched him come and again he was blinded with white-hot rage. He simply lifted the rifle slightly and the sergeant, trying to stop too late, ran the bayonet into his own stomach up to the rifle muzzle. Peter jerked it free and the sergeant, his hands clasped over his stomach and a surprised look on his face, slowly sat down on the ground.

Peter let the rifle slip out of his fingers, staring at the red-stained bayonet. The next moment a railroad train seemed to hit him in the back and he staggered, knocked off balance. He managed to turn around and saw Russell's face smiling over the black, smoking hole in his rifle barrel. Peter felt no pain as he cunk down with his ears ringing. He saw Jones' beefy, shocked face in a swirling, red mist. He was surprised at his hurt. He couldn't understand why.

When the stretcher bearers came, Peter was unconscious and muttering words over and over to himself. The other soldiers could only make out a little from time to time...

"...die by the sword...not kill...thou shalt...die...kill..."
"What's he saying?" one of the stretcher bearers asked Russell.
"I don't know. Doesn't make sense."

"Why the hell did he do it?"
"He's a nut." Russell forced a smile. "A real nut." He spat on the ground.
"Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ." Jones was murmuring over and over again, his face buried in his big hands.

"What the hell's the matter with you?" asked Russell irritably. "He killed the sergeant, didn't he? He asked for it, didn't he?"
Jones looked up at him. He had a deeply horrified look on his face.
"But why did you shoot him?"

"That the hell," said Russell, walking away. "They're all nuts. They ought to give me a promotion for it."

Peter died later that night without regaining consciousness. It was decided not to tell his family the whole story. It all became an accident, a regrettable accident. After all, the truth would have created quite a stir, and the colonel had learned recently, through highly reliable sources, that he was to be promoted and sent to Washington. The colonel had his career to think about. Russell was promoted to corporal for "unusual resourcefulness in time of danger" and the whole affair was hushed up.

READ VIEWS & COMMENTS
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New York 3, N.Y.
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PRINTED MATTER

Municipal Court
BOROUGH OF MILLTOWN
Middlesex County

Ticket No.

Traffic Case No.

State of New Jersey

Receipt for Cash Bail, or
Fines, Penalties, Forfeitures
and costs.

vs.
AARON KATZ
Defendant

Received from AARON KATZ the
sum of FIFTEEN dollars, (\$ 15)

* for cash bail for the offense as charged of SPENDING
(Describe offense)
20 MPH Id 60 MPH Zone

under 27:23:27-2

(Cite section and title of ordinance or statute)

* In satisfaction of the fine imposed by the
* ~~or payment~~ of the penalty forfeiture

judgment of conviction herein for N.J. Turnpike (Offense as charged)

citing section and title of ordinance or statute.)

of 10 dollars
and also the court costs of 5 dollars.

Dated: 11/8/59 J. J. Quinn Clerk

* (L.S)
* (Note. Strike out words and phrases not applicable
and prepare in triplicate.)

No 11921

I AM INNOCENT

Morton Sobell

WHAT DOES JUSTICE FOR MORTON SOBELL MEAN TO YOU?

AARON KATZ

General Insurance

ANALYST AND CONSULTANT

1100 PARKWAY
ELYN 28, N. Y.

"ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE"

TELEPHONE
INGERSOLL 7-6823

December 25, 1950

Mr. Harry Golden
The Carolina Israelite
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Harry Golden:

Season's Greetings to you and best wishes for a happy new year!

I am a cousin of Abraham R. Heller whom you may recall, the former general counsel of the UN, personal attorney to Trygve Lie, who met his untimely death several years ago presumably as a result of undue strain in defense of the prosecution against McCarthyism. Like my cousin, though lacking his specialized and varied knowledge and abilities, I am deeply interested in the welfare of the American people, the Jewish people, all peoples and people.

I must write to thank you for your CAROLINA ISRAELITE and for the service which cannot but help in shaping and developing the character of our country. I like your plans and suggestions with regard to integration; I am looking forward to the day when all of our churches, even in the deep south, will fully accept and implement the GUIDES BOOK of integration.

I had barely begun to read your book when I decided that I must write to thank you. I would also invite you to join with the many distinguished individuals who have signed the enclosed petition to President Eisenhower on behalf of Morton Sobell. Yours is an important name which belongs on that list.

Bearing the end of your book, I read your "Gausevic on Leo Frank", and I can no longer wait to finish the book. I must sit down and write now, even though it is 3 a.m. You must have written about Frank and Dreyfus with the Wechsberg-Sobell case in mind; the parallels are too striking to be merely coincidental. Your reflections on the role of Sam and Gussie in such cases, are I fear, timeless truths. Certainly they fully apply to the present case.

The Rosenbergs were convicted in the press for the eight months they were imprisoned before the trial even began. The press re-emphasized this conviction day after day, even during the trial itself. They were convicted by hysteria and not by fact. During the trial, the "overwhelming" evidence which had been promised against them turned out to be nothing but empty promises. The "more than a hundred witnesses, including Oppenheimer, Urey, Groves" which the prosecution had boasted about never materialized, and the entire case rested on the testimony of one man alone, David Greenglass. (The Circuit Court noted in its opinion, "Doubtless, if their [Greenglass'-s] testimony were to be discredited, the conviction could not stand.").....The promised documentary evidence turned into nothing at all, not a single document concerning espionage, documents which were presented concerned left-wing affiliations or help in years BEFORE THE ALLEGED CONSPIRACY BEGAN. The documents included a collection for Spanish Refugees, 100 membership card, Abel Rosenberg's signature to a 1948 Communist manifesto petition. The alleged conspiracy began in 1944.)

You discussed the general reaction of the Jewish people and their organizations with reference to Yank and Dreyfus. This was likewise true in the Rosenberg case. As in your parallel case, gentiles took the lead in voicing pleas for justice or clemency. You may remember the oft-repeated plea of Pope Pius XII, the appeal of the president of France, several of its members, the Archbishop of Paris and Lyons, members of parliaments from all countries of the world. All agreed, excepting the largest Jewish groups.

And, like Dreyfus, the climate is beginning to change. Morton Sobell, co-defendant of the Rosenbergs, had received a 30 year sentence. Over five of those years had been spent in America's Devil's Island, Alcatraz. He was finally transferred to Atlanta last March, as more and more notable voiced their protests to the prison authorities about this flagrant violation of the Prison Dept's own standards.....Alcatraz was designed for hardened criminals, disciplinary cases, escapees from other institutions. Sobell was a young scientist, a quiet-spoken man who'd never been in trouble before in his life, never even with so much as a parking violation.

Sobell was convicted by hysteria alone. Not one witness ever said that Sobell was a member of the Gold-Rosenbergs-Dreyfus espionage conspiracy for which he was indicted. None, other than the Rosenbergs, knew Sobell or had ever heard of him. He was convicted only because he was tried together with the Rosenbergs in that frightful, hysteria-breeding, Keweenaw wartime atom-bomb trial. He'd been branded as an spy for 8 months before the trial, and although no such evidence was brought into the trial and Judge Kaufman noted this in passing comments on Sobell, he'd actually been convicted in the press and in the public mind long before the trial began.....It's as credible as it can seem, he was convicted on the uncorroborated word of one man, Mitchell, who admitted his own personal guilt, and who admitted on the witness stand that he was testifying in hopes that he wouldn't be prosecuted for his crime. He was wrong.

This lone espionage witness against Sobell, a man who'd been under psychiatric treatment for some years up until the time of the trial, told a tale full of contradictions, incongruities, improbabilities, impossibilities. His testimony was properly evaluated by the District Court (by indictment), when it noted that without the Greenberg testimony the entire case collapses. (It must be understood that this witness had implicated the Rosenbergs far more than he had Sobell. Thus, if his testimony established no case against Rosenberg,.....by what logic could it suffice to convict Sobell??) Search throughout the record, and like Sobell scientist Dr. Harold G. Urey, you cannot find what Sobell was supposed to have done. Nobody ever said he was a member of the conspiracy, nobody said he ever gave or received classified information.

It's like the Salem witch trial. Plead guilty as a witch, man others, and you go free. Maintain that you're not a witch, maintain your innocence, and be executed. David and Ruth Greenberg both plead guilty to atomic espionage. Mitchell acknowledges his guilt, perhaps to conspiracy, surely to perjury. The Rosenbergs maintain their innocence from the beginning, Sobell does likewise. The trial judge admits that no evidence introduced during the trial connects Sobell with atomic espionage, Sobell has an unblemished record.....Downs the decision, and the words of self-confessed spies and liars and perjurers are accepted to convict the spotless defendants. Ruth Greenberg, having confessed to guilt as an atom spy, goes free, is never even indicted, while Sobell, freed of all atomic implications, gets a 30 year sentence. Mitchell, possible conspirator, admitted liar and perjurer, is never even indicted, while Julius and Ethel Rosenberg are executed, defending their innocence to the very end.

To obtain these convictions, and to prevent the Supreme Court from overruling the record, the prosecution could not rely upon hysteria alone. It knowingly used illegal methods, perjured testimony, deliberately suppressed vital information in its possession. The only court which ever reviewed the Rosenberg-Sobell case (only partially, alas!) held that the prosecutor's conduct was "wholly reprehensible", and that a mistrial was warranted and the defense made timely objection.....Does one American in a thousand know what this is? No, the press had done a magnificent job of suppression. Many learned a lesson this day for the first time in a NEW YORKER article during the past year, five years after the Rosenbergs were executed! This Circuit Court finding came while the Rosenbergs were still alive. Why did we first begin to learn about it after they were dead?

McCarthyism, apparently, had a very powerful effect even upon the liberal press. Roy Cohn, McCarthy's "legal" spokesman, participated in this trial as special assistant prosecutor. Unfortunately, Roy Cohn was not yet well known at the time, his actions were not subject to scrutiny, he had not yet distinguished himself with his use of phoned pictures and documents during the Samp-McCarthy hearing.

An article in your book mentions Prof. Horace Kallen as your favorite advisor. That such respect is warranted is proven by his study of the facts in the Sobell case and by his signature to the enclosed presidential appeal. In addition to the notable signatures on this list, countless others have added their voices. Just this month, when Mrs. Sobell had an interview with the US Supreme Attorney, Mr. Fred Goetz, several leaders supported her appeal for amnesty with their own letters. Included were letters from Meinhold Hertzberg, Roger Baldwin, A J Muste, Clarence Pickoff, and you, Rabbi Yacov Lippman, Director of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. By now, Jewish leaders from all sections and segments, orthodox, conservative and reform, have added their voices, as a brief look at the appeal will indicate.

Mr. Golden, your name belongs on that list. It was originated with a group headed by the late Sam Davis and sixty other leaders, and hundreds of others have added their names. Would you be good enough to sign the enclosed form? It would prove most helpful and will be most deeply appreciated.

I wish to thank you for reading thru this letter, and I would be most grateful for any of your thoughts and comments. If you should like any further information about the case, I should be pleased to send you any materials, the trial record, books pro and con, articles, pamphlets, leaflets. Also, I should be delighted to meet with you at your convenience, if you consider it desirable.

Respectfully yours,

Janice Rule and Ray Lev

invite you
to an evening of

Chamber Music - Midnight Supper and Entertainment
January 16, 1959 Evening at 8:30 p.m.

with

Charlotte Holloman Ray Lev Elly Stone
George Rabin Stanley Drucker Milton Schafer

couple
Admission Fifteen Dollars at the home of Janice Rule
(7 Riverside Drive, N.Y. 24.)

(Reservations in order of receipt
of checks payable to cash.
Address to: Ray Lev, 490 West End
Avenue, Apt. 11A, New York 24, N.Y.)

Oct. 23, 1953

Mrs. Martha D. Kennedy
Colchester, Vermont

Dear Martha Kennedy:

It was very good to have not and to have talked with you.

Roth was kind enough to show me the letter which you sent here. It was a beautiful handwriting and a beautiful letter. So, I shall be looking forward eagerly to your reply.

How can we, and do we, do wrong. Less so, however, than 250 or 255 at least, of the other Congressmen. It would be sad if the really bad characters should be successful in purging the best and the most fighting civil rights and civil liberties men in Congress.

I hope you will have received the Welby book by this time. I mailed it to you the 20th. The book is quite readable, exciting and interesting and accurate. When Rinsay Davis finished reading it, he rushed to sign a letter to the President. Unfortunately, he received no reply. Thereafter, he headed the list of VIP signers to President Eisenhower. Since that time, hundreds of additional notables have added their names to the appeal. I am sending you a copy of this appeal to the President, with an abbreviated list of community leaders who have signed.

Please sign one yourself and use the other for some other VIP. When I saw Mary Leelin, she suggested some Minister who would most likely be interested in signing the appeal. There will be many others, I am sure, but it wouldn't hurt to get started. I wish you would have a talk with Mary; she is very fine, and very interested in all activities. If she doesn't remember which Minister had been suggested, probably Boris will, and would have other suggestions.

Then, after you've signed, and after you've read the book and the enclosed material, and after you have made up your mind, as I hope you will, that you would like to devote your valuable efforts to this fight, there is ~~nothing~~ much that can be done. If you'd write and let me know how you feel, we could meet again, either here or there.

[Handwritten signature]

I know that much of what I say will be wasted, because I am not what an observant person you are. Shall I bother to tell you that this is America's foremost civil liberties issue, that all of our civil liberties cases depend upon what happens here? You know it. Shall I tell you that in every civil liberties decision handed down in the past few years under the Warren court, the violation which was reversed

(cont'd 10-21, on the 3d, by own reporter)

was similar to one of the scores of violations which occurred... reversed because of procedural suppression of evidence. The Nelson case, reversed because of prejudicial publicity, was subsequently discredited in other cases. The Halperin case, reversed because of violation of Fifth Amendment rights concerning testimony before grand jurors. With Act cases, reversed because of improper conspiracy indictments among other things. The Lopez case, modified because of illegal seizure of evidence. The Thompson case (re capture in California), reversed because of illegal seizure of evidence. See, etc. Each of these violations occurred in a civil case. Just watch for any new Supreme Court decision, where it reverses a violation of basic rights, and you odds are that it will be parallel to such violation in

...A J White, and Robert Shapiro, and Eleanor Roosevelt, and... expressed their hopes that Sobell wins his new trial or his freedom... case which concerns primarily one man, his family and friends. Like... in France, it affects an entire country and people. It directly... freedom of speech and assembly and press. No less than a score of metropolises... assured that they know that Sobell did not receive due process... to a new trial, that they will speak out when the time is right, but... their souls for the to speak now. "Any day", they promise. Means... his ninth year in jail.

...It knows that to... the Rosenberg... through about the Rosenberg... of the victory which must follow, and it needs the mantras... understand and will defend its actions. I was disappointed we... to look at our nation for a hearing supported by thousands... from all walks of life. But I am determined in my position... the way good decisions which is did make; legislation which... Additional NY and public support will help it. An article... the recent letter of Prof. Carlsten Bais to Helen Sobell, which I

...win our fight, and you win a victory for all Americans, you defend... of our judicial system, you open the minds and the mouths of our people... is unchallengeable - nobody dares to debate the facts with a Sobell... because the facts are so clearly on Sobell's side. Simply to quote from... decisions in this case, most of which quotations have been supplied... is to win your case. For common sense many Americans know that... ruling held that the Rosenberg-Sobell trial was unfair, that the pro...

[Large stylized text or signature]

Page 2, continued

It was noted that the following items were listed in the report:

The first item listed was the purchase of 100 copies of the report for the purpose of distribution to the various offices of the Department of the Interior.

The second item listed was the purchase of 100 copies of the report for the purpose of distribution to the various offices of the Department of the Interior.

The third item listed was the purchase of 100 copies of the report for the purpose of distribution to the various offices of the Department of the Interior.

AMERICA

[Handwritten signature]

Dear Governor Rockefeller:

Please accept my best wishes for a "Happy New Year, and for a progressive, prosperous and peaceful administration."

I am a cousin of Abraham M. Veller, who I am informed by some of my relatives, you know quite well. Like my cousin, though lacking his varied knowledge and abilities, I am deeply interested in the welfare of the American people, of all peoples and peoples. For some time I have been intending to write to you to enlist your support or your interest in a most important campaign for justice. With the advent of the New Year, I know I must wait no longer.

I should like to bring to your attention the case of Morton Sobell, co-defendant of the Rosenbergs, supposedly serving a 30 year sentence. Over the years these years have been spent in Alcatraz

Morton Sobell is a young scientist, father and husband. Up to the time he found himself involved in the Rosenberg case, he had never been in trouble before in his life; never so much as having received a parking ticket. He, then, was sent to Alcatraz, detained exclusively for many months, escapes from other institutions, violent disciplinary actions, which first moved scores of prominent Americans to take a deeper look into the entire case. His deeper look has proved extremely rewarding as far as knowledge and truth and intellectual integrity. It may prove disheartening to us, anxious of maintaining the illusion that we can

Does any American in a thousand know this vital fact, that the only American court which ever reviewed the proceedings in the Rosenberg - Sobell case, the Second Circuit Court of Appeals, held that the trial was unfair, that the conduct of the prosecution was "wholly reprehensible", and that a new trial was warranted had the defense made timely objections? Many Americans learned about this for the first time last year, when the NEW REPUBLIC mentioned it in an editorial reply to Judge Simon Rifkind. This Circuit Court finding came while the Rosenbergs were still alive. Why do Americans first hear about it five years after they've been executed?

Morton Sobell was convicted by hysteria - science. Incredible as it may seem, knowing about his having received a thirty year sentence, there was not a single witness during the entire trial who testified

AARON KATZ

General Insurance
ANALYST AND CONSULTANT

1488-48TH STREET
BROOKLYN 19, N. Y.

"ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE"

TELEPHONE
DEONEY 6-8550

Hon. Krishna Menon
United Nations
New York City, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Menon:

It was my pleasure to meet you last year and to shake your hand. Since then I have shaken your hand figuratively, on several occasions, because of your many forthright statements in the United Nations. Such was the case recently, when the question of seating Communist China was at issue.

You may be interested in the enclosed copy of a letter which I sent to the United States and to other countries.

While this issue will be decided in the United Nations, it seems like it might be used as a test before different committees and what a useful precedent might be set.

Refusal to deal with the presence of Chiang Kai Shek has a particular significance to India. The temporary absence of a certain number of "the big 5" should focus attention to the position of your representatives for your great country. India rightfully belongs among the permanent members of the Security Council, and the unseating of Chiang should help pave this self-evident.

Sincerely,
Aaron Katz

AARON KATZ

General Insurance
ANALYST AND CONSULTANT

1488-48TH STREET
BROOKLYN 19, N. Y.

"ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE"

TELEPHONE
GEORGE 6-8550

October 7, 1953

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
111 East 60th St.
New York City, New York
Dear Eleanor Roosevelt:

Welcome Home!

I cannot begin to tell you how much I enjoyed hearing you on the Harry Gray program. You were wonderful, as usual. As so with an leave testimony, I couldn't help but agree with you. It is hard to see how Mr. Gray could support President Eisenhower's position, nevertheless I am grateful to him for giving me and perhaps millions of other listeners the opportunity to learn about your views and your extremely keen observations. I am sure that Mr. Gray had to be ever indebted to you. I fully concurred when he spoke of you as "the first lady of the world".

since his transfer from prison to Atlanta. He was very grateful to me for my help in his family and by his attorney, and he is in a much better position to actively in your passing legal actions. It is to be hoped that he will agree to give his a hearing or to look at his case and that his freedom will be assured.

The New Republic, which had not previously looked into the case, has recently mentioned the case in three separate issues. Points raised in connection concerned the inordinate sentences, the heightened state of the trial, the "wholly reprehensible" conduct of the prosecution noted by the Circuit Court, its holding that such misconduct warranted a new trial and if any motion been made, the absence of Supreme Court review, the unbecomingly haste and cruelty in the execution of the sentence, and the ability of the State to remain (absent further court review) about whether further review.

Mrs. Rose Sobell had the pleasure of meeting with me recently. He indicated some interest and sympathy and he has agreed to look further into the matter. This is one encouraging factor, as is the enclosed copy of a letter which Mrs. Helen Sobell received from Carlston Beale.

I am looking forward to the pleasure of reading your reports and hearing you and seeing you again in the near future.

Respectfully yours,

Anna Eisen

RECEIVED JUL 27 1951
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
JULY 27 1951

Mr. Nathan Katz
1498 48th St.
Brooklyn 19, NY

Mr. Freddie D. Rosenthal
The Park Sheraton Hotel
202 E 54th Street West
New York 19, N. Y.

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
40 EAST 63RD STREET WEST
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

October 14, 1953

Dear Mr. Katz:

Thank you very much for your kind
letter and your comment on the story
of my career - which I am proud of.

I am glad to know that things are
working better for Mr. Nelson and I
hope to get you some more material in
the near future.

Very sincerely,
1953

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Anna Einstein

RECEIVED J. ROOSEVELT
MURPHY 571
10-14-53
FILE 2-3/53

AARON KATZ

General Insurance

ANALYST AND CONSULTANT

307 EASTERN PARKWAY
BROOKLYN 22, N. Y.

"ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE"

TELEPHONE
INDESBLL 7-6832

Sept. 12, 1952
The National Guardian
107 N. 4th Street
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Editor:

If only somebody had told President Eisenhower that Quemoy and Matsu are a part of China, he might never have drawn his ridiculous parallel charging Communist China with Hitlerian aggression. Could his predecessor President Truman have made such charges when the Chinese moved successfully to oust Chiang from Shanghai?

Forget about Faubus and Little Rock, and consider the case of Big Rock, erroneous island off the North Carolina coast. Suppose it decided to secede rather than live up to US integration laws and Supreme Court decisions, and suppose it began to blockade the coast and bomb the mainland, hoping for eventual restoration of its Jimcrow type government. Wouldn't it be natural for the US to take over Big Rock, with force if necessary? Wouldn't South Africa become the laughing-stock of the world, if it then charged the US with Hitlerian aggression? Wouldn't it be tragic if it or Japan shipped troops and bombers thousands of miles away from their homes, all the way to Big Rock on the American coast, under the guise of halting American aggression?

Sincerely yours,

January 13, 1959

Rev. Wayne White
9 Second Avenue
New York City

My dear Rev. White:

My knowledge of your work on behalf of Rev. Ushius and of your genuine intellectual integrity convinces me that yours is an important signature which is missing on the enclosed Appeal to the President on behalf of Morton Sobell, co-defendant of the Rosenberg.

about Sobell's case. But I imagine that you will find the list of signatures to the appeal most impressive, and that you will find Charlton Lewis' letter of great interest.

I would very much appreciate it if you would sign the enclosed appeal and return it to me. If you should like any further information about the case, I should be pleased to send you any of the plentiful material which is available, pamphlets, leaflets, articles, books, etc. and con, trial record, legal briefs, other documents. Or, I should be glad to meet with you at your convenience.

I eagerly await your kind reply.

Very sincerely yours,

PAPER 1917

Special Volume

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2074, 37, 44, 51
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435 0812

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100, 200, 300, 400

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Waim Kadish
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Philly party.

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Harry & Roy B. La-b
(Gerson)

Dr. Leonard Harris
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Barbara Longfield

2917 Quason

2 Elmhurst, L. I.

LL 7-8038

Carolyn Ables

101 Clark St. B. B. Ave

LL 8-3382

Bertine Karl

350 W. 80th

when the switch was being pulled which electrocuted first Julius and then his wife. Their deaths were announced over the radio half an hour later. Jazz music was interrupted to give the bulletin, and the program continued immediately after.

The next day the New York Times gave details of the last hours, and the story was that both went to their deaths firmly, quietly, with no comment. At the last, Ethel turned to one of the two police matrons who accompanied her and, clasping her by the hand, pulled her toward me and kissed her warmly. Her last

Meditation on the Death of the Rosenbergs

BY DOROTHY DAY

Editor and Publisher CATHOLIC WORKER

AT EIGHT O'CLOCK on Friday, June 16 the Rosenbergs began to go to death. That June evening the air was fragrant with the smell of honey suckle. Out under the hot sun at Peter Maurin Farm, the black cat played with a mouse under the newly cut grass.

Dr. Harry ...
 CNY - ...
 Student ...
 April ...
 Home ...
 ... 5-1116
 John Hope ...
 ... Dept. ...
 ...
 Give ...
 ...

^{22th}
E Luovell
162-12 76 Ave.
Flushing
38 Ave 42 St.

Matilda Cerman
MU4-4553

Glass - Museum
Brown - Dept
- Dept

Com
Grant *NY*
HP

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23/6
Comp Rd
For

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LAFAYETTE NATIONAL BANK
OF BROOKLYN IN NEW YORK
INSURANCE PREMIUM FINANCING DEPARTMENT OFFICE
81 WILLOUGHBY STREET
BROOKLYN 1, N. Y.

U.Letter 5-6600

NOTICE OF DEFAULT AND INTENTION TO CANCEL

Re: Loan No. 63 518 29
Payment Due 2-20-59
Amount Due 47.23

Indicate above loan number
on your check or money order

Letter Date 2-25-59

DANIEL MARIES d/b/a
JAYE BIRDNEY
119 Lafayette St.
NYC

... payment now past due has not been received by us. Since payment was not made ... also due and is included in the above amount ... the due date of the

Judy Herschoff
27 Jones (21st St)
Shanley party

Ester Weiss
14002 79 Ave.

Ketty Tobias
J. 75-4660

Frances Epstein
425 29th St
GE4-3549

Robert Borison
225 W 86th
SU7-6191

Peter Preston
59 Hume St
CH2-7671

Freda Battenfeld
18 Avenue C
CH3-3979

Ruth Jones
Mrs Rosenberg
591 Ocean Ave.
BU2-9899

2047 Portland
OL7-0433

2400 Vermont
New York

224-09 Honor

2400 Vermont

Betty Traub
DE 6-3547

Doris Sirovich
LE5-0224

classmate
OR3-9101

169 Jamaica Ave.
Yonkers SIENCA9-3621

Windsor TW5-2173

Windsor TW5-8553

Net COLFA 1-5037

Flowers & Home
831 Beach 25, Far Rockaway
FA 7-7549

1074 LEIGHT-WAY
LA 37, REEBUR 2-8521

6-44

21st St

New Rochelle
Westchester
Church of the Good

Leah Gerson

Leah Gerson

Leah Gerson

Leah Gerson

Leah Gerson

Leah Gerson

Leah Gerson

Leah Gerson

Leah Gerson

Leah Gerson

Leah Gerson

Leah Gerson

Leah Gerson

Leah Gerson

Leah Gerson

Leah Gerson

Judy Herzog
27 Jones (44.7*)
Phoebe party

Eather Wene
141-02 79 Ave.

Natty Tobias
347-4660

Francis Eickman
825 29th St
GE 4-3544

Alvant Brum
225 W 86 St
SU 7-6191

Peter Preston
59 Avenue C
SU 7-6191

Frankie Muttin
18 Avenue C
CH 3-5479

Kathleen
Mrs Rosenberg
591 Ocean Blvd
BO 2-9899

2027
OL 7-0435

Mr & Mrs
2400 Portman

224-09
Honor

224-09
Honor

Betty Trause
DE 6-3547

Doug
LE 5-0524

class
OR 3-9101

Helen
Linger

69
Vernon
SI 6-0936

class
TU 5-2173

class
TU 5-9553

Net
CO 6-1-5037

Florence
831 Beach 25
FA 7-7549

Frankie
1074 Lehigh Ave
LA 37-812

Edna
Edmond
Wash
6-44

21
21

Peter
Church

Louise
Sweet
Cook

James
JUNIS

Edna
Rosen

Frank
Rosen

JUNIS
244 HOHEN RXL SE
Rosen

Dim
CH 8-0416
ST 7-5991

Rose
36 Samuel Hill Terrace
LO 8-0821

Belle
Rosen

Harry
Rosen

Blanche
RO 5-4944

Michel Frank
877 8156

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Pete
GR-3 1135

Lil Kiezal
UL-3 1108

Judy, Henry
ON-1 1587

Phil Halper
NY-3 0482

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31 ...
ESS Sacher
CI-2 2066

Muriel Goldring NY-9 0591

Pat Simon SE-7 1551

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TEXT OF STATEMENT ON THE MORTON SOBELL CASE

By CARLETON BEALS,

Author, lecturer, authority on Mexico and the Caribbean area, and former consultant to the U. S. government on Mexican affairs. Mr. Beals calls Sobell's conviction a "brazen denial of elementary rights" and "so absurd it is incredible" in the following letter to Mrs. Morton Sobell.

Dear Mrs. Sobell:

Thank you for sending me the transcript of the "conspiracy" trial which resulted in your husband being sentenced to thirty years in prison and the transcript of the arguments on appeal.

I have read every word of the 1715 pages with care. Only a relatively few pages deal with testimony concerning Sobell, and they contain the testimony of only one witness, Max Elitcher. Otherwise no evidence whatever was presented against your husband.

Another brief section deals with the trip of Sobell and his wife and two children to Mexico, in an effort to prove that he was fleeing from justice.

The indictment itself contains not one mention of overt acts by Sobell, as is required by law. His attorneys were forced to enter the courtroom wholly unprepared, almost as spectators, without any knowledge of the specific charges or what evidence they might have to refute.

As a result the prosecution, by distortion, falsification and suppression, was able to give his trip to Mexico the appearance of flight. There is no doubt Sobell was laboring under considerable fear, but even had he fled to Mexico illegally, which he did not, this under law does not constitute guilt of any crime. Thus it was not brought out at the trial:

- (1) That he went to Mexico under his own name and reported to American authorities before leaving.
- (2) That he was not under indictment and was not charged with any crime when he left, only after he returned.
- (3) That he had gone legally to Mexico. In court it was stated that he had no visa, which was technically correct, thus implying he had entered Mexico illegally. Actually he had a legal tourist card, all that is required, and went through the Mexican immigration offices and customs at the border in the usual legal manner.
- (4) That he was never deported from Mexico, although an American immigration official presented evidence, wholly erroneous, to that effect.
- (5) That actually he was kidnapped with the connivance of U. S. Federal agents, was brutally beaten until unconscious, that he was taken to the border in violation of Mexican and U.S. laws and treaties.

- (6) That he was taken across the border and spirited across in the dead of night, his abductors being joined by prearrangement by a Federal marshal. That his entire family was similarly kidnapped and whisked across the border at night.
- (7) That the act was protested by the head of Mexican Immigration.
- (8) That investigations by the Mexican Consul in Laredo confirmed these criminal acts.
- (9) That the Mexican Department of Immigration and the Department of Gobernacion both provided documentary evidence, not presented at the trial, that Sobell had never been deported.

The single witness produced by the State against Sobell, Max Elitcher, was a self-confessed "prejurer" and "liar". At various times he had also been under psychoanalytical treatment.

During his testimony only two sentences remotely suggest, and these are purely hearsay, that Sobell had any connection with any alleged conspiracy. Also, Elitcher testified that one evening he accompanied Sobell on a ten minute ride to the vicinity of the accused Julius Rosenberg's New York apartment to deliver a can (contents unknown) presumably to Rosenberg. No direct evidence, either oral or material, was given at the trial that Sobell even knew any atomic secrets, or that he gave any atomic or any other secrets to Rosenberg or anybody else. His crime, as presented at the trial, seemed to consist of having been possibly a Communist and fellow-traveler, that he had been a fellow engineering student at New York City College, that over a period of ten years he had seen Rosenberg half a dozen times. He knew none of the others involved in the trial and no other witness except Elitcher. His name was not mentioned by any other witness.

In short, no oral, material or even remotely circumstantial evidence was ever presented in court to warrant his conviction or his sentencing. It is so absurd it is incredible. I know of no other instance of miscarriage of justice, or more brazen denial of elementary human rights, in the history of jurisprudence in this or any other country.

Frankly, and this may sound harsh to you given your personal interest in the matter, I started reading this transcript with the hope that I would discover evidence beyond a reasonable doubt, that he was guilty, for I was anxious to preserve my illusions concerning the noble processes of American justice.

Sincerely yours,

s/ Carleton Beals

[REDACTED]

b7D

P.S. - You are free to use this letter and my previous letter in any way you see fit.

Letters to the Editor

When Society Kills

In your edition of Dec. 28, you reported on Dr. Kevorkian's proposal for "judicial euthanasia." It is the fundamental immorality of capital punishment itself which enables such plans to be discussed, just as it was the policy of extermination directed against the Jews which made it possible for the Nazi doctors to perform their experiments.

Among mice the abnormal young are eaten by the parents. Is society then not only to eat its "abnormal" offspring, but to seek to profit by such means? Can we not, with all the millions of dollars being spent for instruments of destruction find a better way to advance medical science?

Obviously in times of great tension such as the period of the Salem witchcraft trials, the Sacco-Vanzetti trial, and the Korean war with the Rosenberg Sobell trial, this proposal can serve as a horrible weapon in the hands of unscrupulous men. Certainly in such circumstances the theory of voluntary choice could become an empty ritual too easily evaded to serve as a guarantee to any individual who had already been rejected by society.

It is true that I have a particular sensitivity to this problem and did mention in the discussion period following Dr.

Kevorkian's report at the AAAS meeting the undeserved punishment inflicted on friends and relatives of executed persons. But the more important point which I made was with respect to my husband, Morton Sobell, who was tried with Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, and who, with them maintained his innocence. My husband was prejudiced, as is every codefendant in a case where death is decreed in the sentence imposed on him, and in the continuing difficulty of obtaining a new trial which would raise a question concerning two people who are already dead.

If out of the suffering of nine years imprisonment of my husband, and from the questionings and doubts on his behalf and on behalf of the Rosenbergs could come a re-examination of the use of capital punishment, some good would have been derived. Certainly history will prove their innocence. What then?

MRS. MORTON SOBELL.
New York.

reprinted as a public service by

The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell
940 Broadway, N. Y. C. AL 4-9983

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Americans for Progressive Israel

112 FOURTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

GRanway 3-4747

BROOKLYN CHAPTER

January 20, 1959

Dear Member and Friend:

On Friday, January 30th, we are devoting the evening to a discussion of the indigenous and turbulent American phenomenon — "Integration." We are very gratified that the Reverend Milton A. Galamison, an outstanding and articulate fighter for Negro rights has generously agreed to address us on this vital subject.

REVEREND MILTON A. GALAMISON is Chairman of the Brooklyn Chapter of the NAACP and his pulpit is the Siloam Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn.

We are particularly interested to see how the American Jew has acted and reacted to the Negro fight for civil liberties, and the Reverend Galamison has promised to include this aspect of the problem. This meeting is a must for your attendance.

Place: Home of Carl and Shoshanna Appel
2094 East 13th Street

Time: Friday, January 30th - 8:30 P.M.

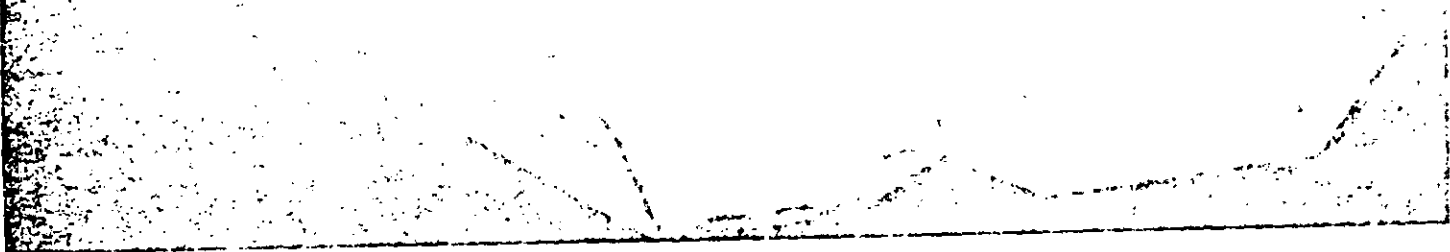
Directions: Brighton EMT to Avenue U
Coney Island Avenue Bus to Avenue T
Avenue U Bus to East 13th Street

Shalom,

Noam Isseroff
Moshe Katz,
Educational Committee

Charles Eisenberg
Chairman

CE:rr
Encl.



Increased National
Association
WHICH WAY?
A MINORITY GROUP
A NATIONAL
DISCUSSION
LUDLAM
FORUM

THE CROWN HEIGHTS FORUM
cordially invites you
to attend an
informal discussion

with
HY LUDLAM
Lecturer, Analyst, Writer
on
SUNDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 14
at 7 P. M.
at
32 Ludlam Place
Basement
Contribution: 50¢

To find Ludlam Place:
Walk down Montgomery Street
between Bedford and Rogers
Addresses.....

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MAY DAY IS FREEDOM DAY

MAKE YOUR DAY COMPLETE

ACT FOR MORTON SOBELL

April 15th issue of CHRISTIAN CENTURY (leading Protestant weekly) urges commutation for Sobell.

April 5th Sunday OREGONIAN (Portland's Independent Republican daily) calls for justice for Sobell.

February 25th, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Professor Edmond Cahn and a group of leading theologians and law professors appeal for commutation for Sobell.

April issue, INTERCOLLEGIAN, Student YM-YWCA publication, calls Sobell case "Issue of the Month", urging study and action.

* * * * *

Throughout America--Clergymen, important newspapers and magazines, Senators, Congressmen, Statesmen, are looking anew at the Rosenberg-Sobell case, so central in the fight for justice. Everywhere doors are opening. YOUR ACTIONS will help open that final door-to truth and freedom.

* * * * *

CONSIDER THESE FACTS:

Morton Sobell was tried together with Ethel and Julius Rosenberg on espionage conspiracy charges, at the height of the McCarthy period and anti-Communist hysteria, during the war in Korea. He was convicted on the word of one witness, a self-confessed perjurer, testifying in hopes that he wouldn't be punished for his perjury (He never was).

Sobell received a 30 year sentence and is now serving his 9th year in prison...The Supreme Court never reviewed the record to see if the defendants had received a fair trial...No court ever reviewed the credibility of the prosecution witnesses, several of whom have since been discredited in other proceedings...The inordinate sentences have never been reviewed by any court...Law Journals which have studied the case conclude that Morton Sobell did not receive justice.

WRITE LETTERS LIKE THESE, NOW:

1. President Dwight D. Eisenhower
The White House, Washington, DC.

Dear Mr. President:

Please include me among the many Americans who wish you to commute the sentence of Morton Sobell to the time already served, or recommend a new trial.

Respectfully yours

2. Senator Jacob K. Javits
U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

Dear Senator Javits:

Won't you please look into the Morton Sobell case and help obtain a new trial or a commutation of sentence?

Respectfully yours

3. Please also write to Senator Kenneth Keating, U.S. Senate and to your Congressman, The House of Representatives, in Washington, D.C.

DON'T FORGET YOUR FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION!

ORGANIZE A HOUSE PARTY FOR SOBELL!

Contact THE NEW YORK COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE FOR MORTON SOBELL
940 Broadway, New York 10, N.Y.

AL 4-9983

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What is new in the
Morton Sobell Case

April, 1959

NEW SUPPORT FOR SOBELL ACROSS THE COUNTRY

DR. REINHOLD NIEBUHR, PROFESSOR EDMOND CAHN, AND OTHER
EMINENT CITIZENS URGE SOBELL FREEDOM AFTER TRIAL STUDY

NEW YORK--Seven noted law professors and theologians have appealed to President Eisenhower to commute the sentence of Morton Sobell, it was announced in the New York Times. The group, which studied the trial record, issued an independent statement describing the case against Morton Sobell as "vague in content and slender in proof." Those who made the study and joined as individuals in recommending commutation include: Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, who is one of the foremost theologians in America; John C. Bennett, Dean of the Union Theological Seminary; Paul Ramsey, Professor of Religion, Princeton University; Edmond Cahn, Professor of Law, New York University; Daniel Day Williams, Professor of Systematic Theology, Union Theological Seminary; Jerome Nathanson, Administrative Leader, New York Society for Ethical Culture; Gerhard O.W. Mueller, Associate Professor of Law, New York University.

CLERGYMEN ON WEST COAST INITIATE NEW NATIONAL SOBELL APPEAL

SAN FRANCISCO--Thirty-eight West Coast ministers and rabbis have initiated a new national appeal to President Eisenhower for freedom or a new trial for Morton Sobell. The appeal is to be circulated among other clergymen throughout the United States and then is to be presented in Washington. Among the initiators was Reverend Peter McCormack, Protestant Chaplain at Alcatraz while Morton Sobell was imprisoned there. The appeal was made public at a dinner in honor of Reverend McCormack. Guest speaker was Dr. Harold C. Urey, Nobel Prize scientist, who was reported by the Associated Press to have charged that the evidence against Morton Sobell was flimsy, the judge prejudiced, and the jury influenced by the hysteria of the time.

PROMINENT INDIVIDUALS IN CHICAGO AREA APPEAL FOR SOBELL

CHICAGO--An appeal to the President in behalf of freedom for Morton Sobell has been made by 100 noted persons in the Chicago area, including Dr. John Lapp, who is one of the outstanding civil liberties leaders in the city. The appeal and the list of signers appeared in full page ads in two of the city's newspapers...Also in Chicago, liberal columnist Harry Barnard urged in his Chicago Daily News column that Morton Sobell be freed.

- continued -

CONGRESSMAN ASKS PRESIDENT EISENHOWER TO STUDY SOBELL CASE

WASHINGTON--Congressman William Meyer, the first Democratic Congressman to be elected from Vermont, has written President Eisenhower to study the Sobell case with a view toward recommending a new trial... Meanwhile, the Washington Post recently published three letters on the Sobell case: one in the form of the appeal by the Dr. Niebuhr group; another by the Sobell committee urging an inquiry by the Senate on the practice of kidnapping as illustrated by the Sobell case; and a letter by Helen Sobell dealing with the relation of the Rosenberg-Sobell case to the capital punishment question... A representative of the Sobell committee has been working in Washington seeing Senators, Representatives, and leaders of national organizations to enlist their support for Morton Sobell's freedom... Petitions signed by 10,000 Americans asking freedom or a new trial for Morton Sobell have been submitted to the U.S. Pardon Attorney... The U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Latin Republics Affairs has before it a memorandum from the Sobell Committee asking for new legislation against international kidnappings... The distinguished clergyman, Rev. John Paul Jones, is sending a copy of the statement by the Dr. Niebuhr group to each member of Congress with a covering letter asking their support.

SOBELL COMMITTEES ACTIVE IN CITIES THROUGHOUT AMERICA

DATELINE U.S.A.--The Philadelphia Sobell Committee obtained three hours of radio time for a discussion of the Sobell case in a single weekend... The San Francisco dinner honoring Rev. Peter McCormack was taped by a radio station for rebroadcast... The Los Angeles Committee is initiating a tour of cities in the West and in Canada to develop support on the case... Reverend Erwin Gaede, one of the initiators of the national clergy appeal, is going to make a mid-west tour for the Sobell case this spring... The New York committee has undertaken to visit cities in the east to expand regional activity on the case... Sobell committees are actively working in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Fresno, San Diego, Seattle, Portland, Vancouver, Chicago, St. Louis, New York, Minneapolis and St. Paul, Milwaukee, Cleveland, Detroit, Washington, Buffalo, Syracuse, New Haven, and in areas surrounding these cities, as well as in smaller communities throughout the country.

WHAT YOU CAN DO TO HELP THIS SPRING

1. Write your Senators and Congressman to recommend commutation of Morton Sobell's sentence. This is vital to back up our Washington work.
2. Write your personal letter to President Eisenhower.
3. Order copies of the new clergy appeal from our committee and take them to clergymen in your city.
4. Start a Sobell group in your area to plan for effective action and fund-raising gatherings.
5. Send your personal contribution today to help present new legal moves and build public support.
6. Become a month-to-month supporter. Join the "Dollar a Month" Club and get your friends to join.

Committee To Secure Justice For Morton Sobell

940 BROADWAY (Entrance on 22nd Street) NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

Algonquin 4-9983

April, 1959

Dear Friend:

Morton Sobell, under the strict rules limiting his writing of letters to the outside world, cannot address you personally.

If he could, he would undoubtedly pose to you the same question he recently posed in a letter to his mother:

"Will we--or won't we--finally emerge, completely and fully, from the McCarthy era?"

The Morton Sobell case itself provides a measure of how this question will ultimately be answered. It is because thousands of Americans recognize the Rosenberg-Sobell trial as the most blatant injustice of the McCarthy hysteria that support for Morton Sobell's freedom grows and grows.

How soon will Morton Sobell be freed? That depends on all of us.

It depends on our lawyers who at this moment are preparing for new action in the courts. It depends on the men and women of integrity who are addressing appeals to the President. It depends on Morton Sobell's wife and mother who are working with almost unbelievable strength. It depends on our devoted committees throughout the country.

Above all, it depends on you.

Read the enclosed newsletter giving the latest facts and telling what you can do. Then do not fail to act, in every way that you can.

Please be sure to mail your contribution to help finance our work in the return envelope enclosed for this purpose.

With much appreciation,

Ted Jacobs

Ted Jacobs

FOR THE SOBELL COMMITTEE

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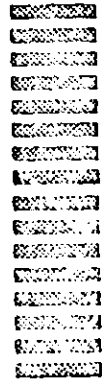
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MRS. MORTON SOBELL
Room D
940 Broadway
New York 10, N. Y.



FOR JUSTICE AND FREEDOM

DOLLAR-A-MONTH CLUB

for

MORTON SOBELL

952

DOLLAR-A-MONTH CLUB

I am now contributing \$ _____ for the legal appeal and public information in the case of Morton Sobell.

I pledge \$ _____ per month for the next six months to sustain the effort to win justice for Morton Sobell.

1st month

2nd

3rd

4th

5th

6th

NAME _____

CITY _____

ADDRESS _____

PHONE _____

Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell
940 Broadway, New York 10, N.Y.

Committee To Secure Justice For Morton Sobell

940 BROADWAY (Entrance on 22nd Street) NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

Algonquin 4-9983

May 22, 1959

NEW SOBELL SPEAKERS AT IMPORTANT NEW YORK MEETING

Dear Friend:

In response to requests for a new, important event on the Morton Sobell case in New York City, we have scheduled a public meeting on Friday, June 19, 8 p.m. at WEBSTER HALL, 119 E. 11th St. (between 3rd and 4th Avenues), New York landmark and public meeting place where vital issues are traditionally aired.

Speaking on the Sobell case for the first time:

DR. HORACE M. KALLEN--Research Professor of social philosophy at the New School for Social Research, Honorary Vice-President of the American Jewish Congress, author of books on democracy and freedom.

MURRAY BRANCH, Distinguished Professor of Religion at Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia, the city where Morton Sobell is now enduring his 9th year of imprisonment.

b7D
Hear other noted speakers...learn of daily new developments in the case...of a public opinion uniting for Sobell's freedom or a new trial in the six years that have passed since the execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

The attached bulletin will bring you up to the minute of exciting new developments in behalf of Morton Sobell, such as editorials in the Christian Century, leading Protestant weekly, and in the Oregonian, Portland's influential Republican newspaper, also a statement by noted theologians and law professors headed by Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr and Prof. Edmond Cahn, which was reprinted in full in the national student publication of the YMCA-YWCA, "The Intercollegian".

The enclosed tickets provide your way of joining with other New Yorkers in our action for Morton Sobell. Your participation will help open that last door to freedom.

Send your contribution for your two enclosed tickets at one dollar each in the postage-paid return envelope. Order more tickets for your friends. The enclosed are not announcements, but actual tickets of admission.

Looking forward to seeing you on June 19th and acting together for justice.

Sincerely,

Ben Ratner
Ben Ratner
New York Sobell Committee

953

BULLETIN
June, 1959

An Appeal to President Eisenhower to commute the sentence of Morton Sobell was issued by seven noted law professors and theologians from New York. Among the signers of this appeal, which was reported in the New York Times on February 22, were Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, who is one of the foremost theologians in America, and Edmond Cahn, Professor of Law, New York University...

Thirty eight West Coast ministers and rabbis have initiated a new national appeal to the President for the freedom or a new trial for Morton Sobell. The appeal is being circulated among other clergymen throughout the United States and then will be presented in Washington. One of the initiators of this appeal is Reverend Peter McCormack, Protestant Chaplain at Alcatraz while Morton Sobell was imprisoned there.

An appeal to the President also has been made by 100 noted persons in the Chicago area. Also, liberal columnist Harry Barnard urged in his Chicago Daily News column that Morton Sobell be freed...

A representative of the Sobell Committee who has been visiting Senators and Representatives in Washington reports that Senator Frank Moss of Utah and Representative William Meyer of Vermont have written to President Eisenhower in Morton Sobell's behalf. The U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Latin Republics Affairs has before it a memorandum from the Sobell Committee asking for new legislation against international kidnappings...

The Christian Century Magazine carries an editorial urging clemency for Morton Sobell...

b7D
The Intercollegian, monthly publication of the National Student Council of the YMCA and YWCA, carries in its April issue a complete page on the Morton Sobell case. The Intercollegian also offers to those who request information, a three-page statement on the case by Dr. Paul Lehmann, in which he suggests that discussion groups be organized to further study the Morton Sobell case...

The Portland Sunday Oregonian published on April 5 an important editorial likening the Sobell Case to the Sacco and Vanzetti Case and urging a new look at Sobell's trial and imprisonment...

The Washington Post, the most important newspaper in the Nation's capital, has published the complete text of the new appeal by the Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr-Professor Edmond Cahn group. It was printed on the editorial page in the form of a letter to the editor...

The April-May issue of the Catholic Worker carries an editorial on the Sobell Case, written by Ted LeBerthon, West Coast editor and writer. The article, "Time, Conscience and the Sobell Case," deeply explores the many ramifications of the trial and recommends that Catholics and persons of good will of all faiths work for Sobell.

From a Mother's Day Letter by Morton Sobell to his Mother, Rose Sobell:

"They have a mother's day card in the commissary, but I don't like it, so I'll just write you a 'card' dear mother, telling you all, and more, than a card would say. I hope there will be many, many more mother's days for you--some of which we'll be able to enjoy together. In the meantime you'll just have to continue being a mother to me from afar, but mother nonetheless in ways that are far more meaningful than mere sentiments or hopes or desires. No one will be able to think of you other than the best mother a son ever had. Take good care of yourself, ma, and tell everyone how much I appreciate what they are doing. Good night, dear mother. All my love, Your son, Morty."

Reprinted from

April 1959

the intercollegian

THE INTERCOLLEGIAN
IS PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL
STUDENT COUNCIL OF THE YMCA & YWCA

the sixth Assembly of
the Student YMCA-YWCA

second report issue

Issue of the month

The case of Morton Sobell

At the Assembly, both Dr. Paul Lehmann and Dr. Gardner Murphy called attention to the Morton Sobell trial and sentence. Student Christian Associations should study the record of this case. Wherever a possible serious malfeasance of justice in any society exists, that society cannot go long without examining its behavior and practice.

The following statement has been made by a group of distinguished citizens. We commend it to the attention of every Christian Association.

THE UNDERSIGNED are American citizens who believe that the sentence of Morton Sobell should now be commuted. Sobell was convicted of conspiring with others to transmit to the Soviet Union writings and information relating to the national defense of the United States and was sentenced on April 1, 1951 to serve thirty years in Federal Prison.

Morton Sobell was tried with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were convicted of espionage in connection with the atomic bomb and who were sentenced to death and later executed. Sobell, however, was never implicated in any way with involvement in the atomic espionage for which the Rosenbergs were convicted. This fact was confirmed by the judge who sentenced Sobell.

This statement is not concerned with the Rosenberg conviction. The undersigned are and consistently have been, convinced anti-Communists. None are associated with any organization, committee or group of any kind concerned either with the case of the Rosenbergs or that of Sobell, nor are any of the undersigned connected in any way with Morton Sobell or any members of his family. After study of the case, we believe that the following considerations warrant a commutation of the very heavy sentence Sobell is now serving.

1. Sobell was never implicated with atomic espionage for which the Rosenbergs were convicted.
2. The charges against Sobell, supported mainly by the testimony of one man, Max Elitcher, were that he had solicited information, and had on one occasion taken something which looked like a can of film to Julius Rosenberg. No specific item of information supposed to have been secured by him or transmitted by him to anyone else is specified in the record. The case against him, therefore, is vague in content and slender in proof. The possibility that a trip to Mexico which he and his family took should be construed as flight cannot be ignored, though it is subject to various interpretations.
3. Whether or not the judge and prosecution made sufficient efforts to provide a fair trial, we ought to recognize that the emotions surrounding the trial of the Rosenbergs and the fact that Sobell's case was tried with theirs made it difficult to separate the two cases and to recognize

the very different character of the two charges and the evidence introduced to support them respectively.

4. Sobell has already served, with good conduct, nearly eight years in prison, six of them in Alcatraz.

5. As Americans we are fully aware of the threat of communism to our freedom and way of life. Any attack on that freedom from without or within must be resisted. Nevertheless, one of the factors which makes that freedom so precious is its capacity to practice a disciplined and humane administration of justice precisely in those cases where emotions are aroused which make it difficult to remain objective about the merits of a specific case. We believe a commutation of the Sobell sentence would demonstrate our national faith in that freedom.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR
Vice-President and Professor of
Ethics and Theology
Union Theological Seminary
New York City

JOHN C. BENNETT
Dean and Professor of Ethics
and Theology
Union Theological Seminary

GERHARD O. W. MUELLER
Associate Professor of Law
New York University

EDMOND CAHN
Professor of Law
New York University

DANIEL DAY WILLIAMS
Professor of Systematic Theology
Union Theological Seminary

PAUL RAMSEY
Professor of Religion
Princeton University

JEROME NATHANSON
Administrative Leader
New York Society for
Ethical Culture

(Titles are for identification only.)

WHAT YOU CAN DO . . .

1. Malcolm T. Sharp's book *Was Justice Done?* (The Monthly Review Press, \$3.50) is a very good point of departure. He is a law professor at the University of Chicago. The foreword is by Dr. Harold Grey.
2. A three page statement by Dr. Paul Lehmann is available upon request. This is an enlargement of the remarks he made at the Assembly on the Sobell case.
3. Other sources: Oliver Pilat, *Atom Spies*; John Wesley Judgement of *Julius and Ethel Rosenberg*; William Reuben *The Atom Spy Hoax*. Also refer to U. of Chicago *Law Review*, Spring 1957, Vol. 24, No. 3, p. 588; *Yale Law Journal*, Jan. 1958, Vol. 67, No. 3, p. 528; *Wayne Law Review*, Winter 1956, Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 85.
4. Form a group of faculty and students to talk this through seeking to bring the intelligence, information and convictions of the group to bear on this concrete issue of justice.

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The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell
940 Broadway, N. Y. C. AL 4-9983

NOTE: The following comments on the Morton Sobell case by Dr. Paul Lehmann of the Harvard Divinity School are being sent by the Intercollegian, student YMCA-YWCA publication, in response to requests for more information about the trial and imprisonment of Mr. Sobell.

MORTON SOBELL: SYMBOL OF THE CHRISTIAN'S CONCERN FOR JUSTICE

The Christian's concern for justice is a basic response to what the God revealed to us in Jesus Christ and described in the Bible is doing in the world. Images get to the heart of the matter more quickly than do concepts, and a careful reading of the Bible will disclose that the characteristic images in terms of which the Bible describes what God is doing in the world are political images. They are political images in the fundamental sense of the word "political"; for politics has to do with what it takes to make and to keep human life human. The God of the Bible is thus at work in the world "to destroy and to overthrow, to build and to plant" (Jeremiah 1:10); "he has gathered the proud in the imagination of their hearts, he has put down the mighty from their thrones, and exalted those of low degree" (Luke 1:51-52); he chooses "what is low and despised in the world, even things that are not, to bring to nothing things that are, so that no human being might boast in the presence of God" (1 Corinthians 1:28-29). In this context, justice is the setting right of what is not right in the world, the breaking down of every barrier to the fulfillment of human wholeness and the making room for what is genuinely human in the relations of men in their dealings with themselves and with one another.

Morton Sobell was convicted and sentenced to prison in the wake of the trial, convictions and sentencing of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg (1951-53). His case has been called "the outstanding example of the serious lasting effects of the spy scare". The precepts and processes of justice are the right and proper instruments through which human societies order the common life, and endeavor both to protect and to further man's humanity as against his inhumanity to man. But in the actual exercise of justice, human societies not infrequently subordinate the claims of justice to the interests of power, and from time to time in the course of human affairs the destructive impulses and capacities of men, their hatreds and their fears, become compounded with irrational, deep and widespread insecurity, so that the very procedures and structures of justice become the instruments of the miscarriage of justice. I say "miscarriage" not because all legal processes have not been duly exercised and the judgment of wise and learned jurists asked. But a "miscarriage of justice" arises because the rules of legal evidence and the more delicate, difficult and fundamental human evidence are at variance, if not in conflict, the one with the other. The maxim "beyond reasonable doubt", designed to keep a healthy tension between the legal and the human evidence when the question of justice or injustice is up, proves under conditions of public hysteria to be a slender reed upon which a society can rest its conscience and its peace.

All this may be granted by non-Christians as well as by Christians. Indeed, non-Christians have often been more sensitive to the cleavage between legal and human evidence in matters of justice than Christians have been. Nevertheless, the authentic response of Christian faith to what God is doing in the world is nowhere more evident than in the persistent and restless sensitivity to miscarriages of justice which cannot come to peace with itself until law has once again been restored to its authentic function as an instrument for the humanization of man in his relatedness to man.

Morton Sobell was sentenced to prison for a thirty-year term in 1951. First in Leavenworth and then in Alcatraz, symbols of American punitive power at its worst, Sobell has been serving his sentence amidst rising doubts in the body politic of the United States about the evidence upon which he was actually convicted and remanded to prison. It is these rising doubts

which lift the Sobell case above the level of the processes whereby injustice can be legally redressed, and transfer it to a level of symbolic significance of the sanity, stability and integrity of the common life in the United States. It is this symbolic significance which sharply juxtaposes the power of the state and the human significance of an individual citizen. It is this symbolic significance which sharply poses the question whether any society can safely allow a serious malfeasance of justice to continue without redress. It is this symbolic significance which sharply poses the question whether Morton Sobell has not in the last analysis been caught up by forces which are so vastly more powerful and ominous than he or his deeds or misdeeds could possibly be, so that the humanistic foundations of justice in a society which has imprisoned him are at stake.

In a time of conformity, when non-conformity is a risk, students and their campuses do not need - above all things - the antidote of causes. What they need above all things is to remember that human creativity has always been high when men have kept sensitive to what was immediately around them and out of joint. Whether one come to the conclusion that the Sobell case should be reviewed or not, that Morton Sobell should be pardoned by executive clemency or not, a serious study and discussion of the issues and the significance of Morton Sobell's ordeal may well serve as an unforgettable undergraduate experience in what it takes to be and to stay a human being in this kind of world.

Whether or not Sobell is a Christian, I do not know. It does not matter. Christ died - not for Christians only - but for the ungodly, that is, for all men, Christians included. As God in Christ makes no conditions for forgiving men their sins and including them in fellowship with Him, so Christians make no conditions for their obedient concern for all sorts and conditions of men. The Christian doctrines of the Incarnation and Atonement mean nothing so much as that God who is revealed in Christ is active and at work on the frontiers of man's humanity to man. Student YM and YWCA's have lost their real excuse for being unless they are steadily responsive to what God is doing on that frontier. Thus it comes about that Morton Sobell is the next-door neighbor of every campus YM and YWCA, who confronts them out of a great silence with the question of the integrity of their obedience to what God is doing in the world.

The basic factual materials for a discussion of the issues and significance of the Sobell case are of course the trial record itself. This can be obtained from the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell at 940 Broadway, New York 10, New York. But this record is long and tedious and perhaps not the most rewarding way to begin to understand the case. For this purpose the book by Professor Malcolm T. Sharp, of the Faculty of Law at the University of Chicago, entitled Was Justice Done?, New York, 1956, The Monthly Review Press, is the best point of departure. I could imagine groups of faculty and students under the leadership of the campus YM and YWCA spending a series of evenings in fruitful discussion of Professor Sharp's book, and going on from there as the discussion pointed the way. In some such way as this, intelligence, information, and conviction could be brought to bear upon one concrete issue of justice in our present society, and some glimpse be gained of what it means to live not in conformity, but in the freedom of a transforming faith.

Paul Lehmann
Harvard Divinity School
March, 1959

TEXT OF STATEMENT ON THE MORTON SOBELL CASE

By CARLETON BEALS,

Author, lecturer, authority on Mexico and the Carribean area, and former consultant to the U. S. government on Mexican affairs. Mr. Beals calls Sobell's conviction a "brazen denial of elementary rights" and "so absurd it is incredible" in the following letter to Mrs. Morton Sobell.

Dear Mrs. Sobell:

Thank you for sending me the transcript of the "conspiracy" trial which resulted in your husband being sentenced to thirty years in prison and the transcript of the arguments on appeal.

I have read every word of the 1715 pages with care. Only a relatively few pages deal with testimony concerning Sobell, and they contain the testimony of only one witness, Max Elitcher. Otherwise no evidence whatever was presented against your husband.

Another brief section deals with the trip of Sobell and his wife and two children to Mexico, in an effort to prove that he was fleeing from justice.

The indictment itself contains not one mention of overt acts by Sobell, as is required by law. His attorneys were forced to enter the courtroom wholly unprepared, almost as spectators, without any knowledge of the specific charges or what evidence they might have to refute.

As a result the prosecution, by distortion, falsification and suppression, was able to give his trip to Mexico the appearance of flight. There is no doubt Sobell was laboring under considerable fear, but even had he fled to Mexico illegally, which he did not, this under law does not constitute guilt of any crime. Thus it was not brought out at the trial:

- (1) That he went to Mexico under his own name and reported to American authorities before leaving.
- (2) That he was not under indictment and was not charged with any crime when he left, only after he returned.
- (3) That he had gone legally to Mexico. In court it was stated that he had no visa, which was technically correct, thus implying he had entered Mexico illegally. Actually he had a legal tourist card, all that is required, and went through the Mexican immigration offices and customs at the border in the usual legal manner.
- (4) That he was never deported from Mexico, although an American immigration official presented evidence, wholly erroneous, to that effect.
- (5) That actually he was kidnapped with the connivance of U. S. Federal agents, was brutally beaten until unconscious, that he was taken to the border in violation of Mexican and U.S. laws and treaties.

- (6) That he was taken across the border and spirited across in the dead of night, his abductors being joined by prearrangement by a Federal marshal. That his entire family was similarly kidnapped and whisked across the border at night.
- (7) That the act was protested by the head of Mexican Immigration.
- (8) That investigations by the Mexican Consul in Laredo confirmed these criminal acts.
- (9) That the Mexican Department of Immigration and the Department of Gobernacion both provided documentary evidence, not presented at the trial, that Sobell had never been deported.

The single witness produced by the State against Sobell, Max Elitcher, was a self-confessed "prejurer" and "liar". At various times he had also been under psychoanalytical treatment.

During his testimony only two sentences remotely suggest, and these are purely hearsay, that Sobell had any connection with any alleged conspiracy. Also, Elitcher testified that one evening he accompanied Sobell on a ten minute ride to the vicinity of the accused Julius Rosenberg's New York apartment to deliver a can (contents unknown) presumably to Rosenberg. No direct evidence, either oral or material, was given at the trial that Sobell even knew any atomic secrets, or that he gave any atomic or any other secrets to Rosenberg or anybody else. His crime, as presented at the trial, seemed to consist of having been possibly a Communist and fellow-traveler, that he had been a fellow engineering student at New York City College, that over a period of ten years he had seen Rosenberg half a dozen times. He knew none of the others involved in the trial and no other witness except Elitcher. His name was not mentioned by any other witness.

In short, no oral, material or even remotely circumstantial evidence was ever presented in court to warrant his conviction or his sentencing. It is so absurd it is incredible. I know of no other instance of miscarriage of justice, or more brazen denial of elementary human rights, in the history of jurisprudence in this or any other country.

Frankly, and this may sound harsh to you given your personal interest in the matter, I started reading this transcript with the hope that I would discover evidence beyond a reasonable doubt, that he was guilty, for I was anxious to preserve my illusions concerning the noble processes of American justice.

Sincerely yours,

s/ Carleton Beals

P.S. - You are free to use this letter and my previous letter in any way you see fit.

b7D

The following is the full text of the independent plea for Morton Sobell which was reported in the New York Times on February 22, 1959.

A STATEMENT ON THE CASE OF MORTON SOBELL

The undersigned are American citizens who believe that the sentence of Morton Sobell should now be commuted. Sobell was convicted of conspiring with others to transmit to the Soviet Union writings and information relating to the national defense of the United States and was sentenced on April 1, 1951 to serve thirty years in Federal Prison.

Morton Sobell was tried with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were convicted of espionage in connection with the atomic bomb and who were sentenced to death and later executed. Sobell, however, was never implicated in any way with involvement in the atomic espionage for which the Rosenbergs were convicted. This fact was confirmed by the judge who sentenced Sobell.

This statement is not concerned with the Rosenberg conviction. The undersigned are and consistently have been convinced anti-Communists. None is associated with any organization, committee, or group of any kind concerned either with the case of the Rosenbergs or that of Sobell, nor are any of the undersigned connected in any way with Morton Sobell or any members of his family. After study of the case, we believe that the following considerations warrant a commutation of the very heavy sentence Sobell is now serving.

- 1) Sobell was never implicated with atomic espionage for which the Rosenbergs were convicted.
- 2) The charges against Sobell, supported mainly by the testimony of one man, Max Elitcher, were that he had solicited information, and had on one occasion taken something which looked like a can of film to Julius Rosenberg. No specific item of information supposed to have been secured by him or transmitted by him to anyone else is specified in the record. The case against him, therefore, is vague in content and slender in proof. The possibility that a trip to Mexico which he and his family took should be construed as flight cannot be ignored, though it is subject to various interpretations.
- 3) Whether or not the judge and prosecution made sufficient efforts to provide a fair trial, we ought to recognize that the emotions surrounding the trial of the Rosenbergs and the fact that Sobell's case was tried with theirs made it difficult to separate the two cases and to recognize the very different character of the two charges and the evidence introduced to support them respectively.
- 4) Sobell has already served, with good conduct, nearly eight years in prison, six of them in Alcatraz.
- 5) As Americans we are fully aware of the threat of communism to our freedom and way of life. Any attack on that freedom from without or within must be resisted. Nevertheless, one of the factors which makes that freedom so precious is its capacity to practice a discipline and humane administration of justice precisely in those cases where emotions are aroused which make it difficult to remain objective about the merits of a specific case. We believe a commutation of the Sobell Sentence would demonstrate our national faith in that freedom.

Reinhold Niebuhr
Vice-President and Professor of
Ethics and Theology
Union Theological Seminary
New York City

John C. Bennett
Dean and Professor of Ethics and
Theology
Union Theological Seminary

Paul Ramsey
Professor of Religion
Princeton University

Edmond Cahn
Professor of Law
New York University

Daniel Day Williams
Professor of Systematic Theology
Union Theological Seminary

Jerome Nathanson
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New York Society for Ethical
Culture

Gerhard O. W. Mueller
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New York University

(titles are for identification only)

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CHRISTIANITY and CRISIS

A Christian Journal of Opinion

The End and Beginning of an Era

All of us share the temptation of allowing the jet stream of events—Iraq, Lebanon, Cuba, Berlin—to overwhelm our thinking and shape public opinion. To the extent that foreign policy is a practical down-to-earth endeavor, this contact with the real and the concrete is probably a sign of national health. Americans, however, are predisposed as a practical people to close their eyes to the broad trends and movements of history despite the forewarnings that are sounded by strong leaders in public and private life.

This was evident in the period around World War I when President Wilson cried out for programs that would reflect America's international responsibility. His optimism and even naïveté should not obscure his more enduring legacy. He endeavored valiantly, though without any immediate success, to rouse the public conscience to an awareness that abstention and isolation had lost their relevance, that the United States henceforth would be, for better or worse, a major factor in everything that transpired in world affairs. If Wilson conceived of world responsibility both too narrowly and too idealistically, if he assumed that the League and the U.S. in the League were ready to shoulder more burdens than proved possible, he at least caught a glimpse of the dawning of a new era and expressed this fearlessly.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt stood at another turning point in world affairs. The rise of Nazism had not been contained in Europe, the world balance of power was being shattered and only American power, affirmed and asserted, could preserve Western civilization. And as the conflict with Nazism drew to a close, Roosevelt prepared the way for the United Nations.

It fell to Mr. Truman to initiate policies aimed at resisting another threat to Western civilization. The Marshall Plan, the Truman Doctrine and NATO were the tripod on which resistance to Soviet expansion was based. The era from 1946 to 1955 was one of building up counter-forces as the most dependable means of holding back the Russian advance.

Obviously one period of history spills over into the next, and the years from 1955 to the present are both a continuation of the past and the preparation for a new era. At Geneva, the Soviet Union and the United States recognized in effect the nuclear stalemate. However popular it has become to speak of the 1955 summit conference as symbolic of broken promises, illusions and false smiles, history's hard lesson is that world politics at Geneva began to turn a corner, whether for better or for worse. Foreign policy has been more complicated since that time. Events in the non-Western world have gained in importance as the struggle between East and West has multiplied points of conflict. Cultural and intellectual barriers show signs of relaxation as the Soviet and Western worlds compete in this field. And in recent days, the scene of the Cold War, spurred by the Russian ultimatum over Berlin, has shifted once more to the diplomatic arena as the foreign ministers embark on the arduous task of preparing, if possible, for a summit conference. The last three or four years have thus been a transitional period.

Mr. Dulles faithfully lived and worked largely in the old era; yet he was also engaged in preparing the country for transition to the new. One of his most persistent critics, *The Economist* (London), paid him this honest tribute: "Who can doubt that

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when the story of the last six years comes to be written a singular share of the credit for the sustained resolution of the West's awkward squads of independent states in the face of the remorseless variety of the Soviet challenge will belong to Mr. Dulles' determination and intelligence?" Perhaps Mr. Dulles' greatest legacy is the will power, tenacity and resolve he provided when these qualities often seemed in short supply. In the words of a friendly overseas observer: "Of all the Eisenhower administration he will be remembered in history as the one big man."

Yet one of the ironies of history must be that Secretary Dulles will be measured and judged primarily in terms of the old era. He inherited and carried forward the practical assumptions of policies that were sufficient in the first decade following World War II. These included—and still include—the need for building up centers of military, economic and political power as a barrier against the flood of Soviet influence and power from the East. In the long run, both Mr. Dulles and his predecessor, Dean Acheson, hoped this might bring about changes in the Marxist reckoning of foreign relations. If the nations of the West had shown greater resolve in building up strength, the test of these expectations might have come earlier than it has. But as in the period between the two world wars, the "great slumbering giant," of which Mr. Churchill wrote in describing the West's response to another challenge, has never been fully aroused. Historians can speculate but we shall never fairly know what concessions the Soviets might have made had the West risen to the sacrifices necessary to strengthen its position in the manner called for by numerous private leaders in the Gaither and Rockefeller Reports.

Yet even in the absence up to now of a national response commensurate with the challenge, history has not stood still. Mr. Dulles' suggestions that German reunification was not necessarily dependent on free elections, at least as a first step, is symbolic of the West's relaxation of demands in the face of unfolding developments. The Soviet's seemingly more conciliatory position on nuclear controls is another, if quite different, symbol. The rise of new nations, the terrifying potential of modern weapons, the haunting specter of a number of small dictators brandishing such weapons and the acceleration of economic competition within and out-

side the two world empires has called for new approaches. World public opinion, conscious of these changes and filled with new hopes and fears, has set the stage for an inevitable series of diplomatic encounters that may go on for a generation or more.

These encounters are among the hallmarks of a new era, and with our British friends we may offer this final tribute to Mr. Dulles. His loss is the greater if we realize "that he who was so well equipped to negotiate a settlement on behalf of the West has had to end his service without achieving even the opportunity to try." K. W. T.

TV'S "SUNDAY BEST"

MUCH HAS BEEN SAID about the emptiness and triviality of most television programs—not least by such participants as Edward R. Murrow and David Susskind. This writer, who is no expert, discovered the truth of these criticisms after several weeks of illness taught him what television offers to those who look at programs every day.

The one commercial permitted here is that, in spite of all such criticisms, it is worthwhile to have a television set, if for no other reason than that it enables one to view many kinds of public events—political conventions, world series games, United Nations sessions, coronations, inaugurations and the McCarthy hearings, which made it so hard to do one's work.

In viewing only an occasional program one does not get the cumulative effect of the commercials. Perhaps it is good that they are in themselves so poorly done because they can be the more easily ignored. If many were as skillful as the Piel brothers they would be the more distracting. Commercials are a necessary evil and they are not the worst aspect of television, but the networks certainly saturate their programs with them. When will they begin to backfire and reduce interest in the medium they support?

The major problem of television is the lack of significant programs during most of the week. The charge that the good programs are reserved for Sunday is, for the most part, true. Many Sunday programs show how good the medium can be. There are a few good dramatic programs during the week; is it too much to expect the networks to come up to their "Sunday best" on other days?

This is not written with scorn for all the pop-

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ular programs. This writer likes westerns and detective stories when he is tired, but one at a time is enough. Regardless of what some experts say about the psychological effect of television violence, it is hard to believe that it is good for people of any age to see it for hours, day after day, especially when the violence is in familiar settings. (More violence can be absorbed in westerns than in contemporary crime dramas.)

There are great obstacles in such a costly medium to securing adequate variety, including excellent programs that appeal to quite limited audiences or those that deal with controversial issues and risk offending particular groups. If it is this variety that we want, why should there not be both private and public networks? Both would have their faults, but they might be different faults; if so, there might be greater hope of freedom and variety.

A public monopoly would be most objectionable. However, even though there are several networks, the present tendency is toward a monopoly by one type of mind, that which fears the loss of customers. Some of the networks, notably CBS through its news staff, provide a partial corrective, but this is limited as is seen by the fact that some of the best CBS programs have been dropped for lack of sponsors.

Any large and costly enterprise will be afraid to offend either customers or voters. A public network, even if it were set up to have as much independence as the Supreme Court, would be subject to as strong attacks as the Court and would be fair game for Congressional committees. The BBC has behind it a tradition of independence that would be difficult to establish in this country where not even public or private universities are as free from public attack as they are in Britain. Should we not, however, at least experiment with various forms of control that will provide greater variety than we now have?

J. C. B.

A NEW LOOK AT THE SOBELL CASE

A GROUP of lawyers and religious leaders, including two of the editors of *Christianity and Crisis*, has recently petitioned the President for a commutation of the sentence of Martin Sobell, who is serving a thirty-year sentence in a Federal prison for his involvement in the Rosenberg case.

Sobell was a Communist and a friend of Rosenberg. There was, however, no evidence that he was involved in the treasonable transfer of atomic secrets. Only one witness testified that he had given Rosenberg industrial secrets. On being indicted, he

fled to Mexico and was forcibly returned to this country. His flight created further suspicion.

A separate trial should have been insisted upon at the beginning, but his lawyers failed to do so. Once the joint trial was undertaken, there was no way of preventing Sobell's involvement in the hysteria of the Rosenberg trial. Nor could an appeal secure for him a separate trial, except by the introduction of new evidence.

The committee that petitioned the President did not question the guilt and the fair trial of the Rosenbergs, nor for that matter did it declare its belief that Sobell was innocent of the charge on which he was convicted (though that charge was never fully aired in court and was supported by only one witness). It was the opinion of those signing the petition, however, that the sentence of 30 years was in any case excessive and that, even if guilty, Sobell, who has served seven of his thirty years, should be pardoned.

Another committee, headed by the chaplain of the prison where Sobell is incarcerated, has been organized to review, unofficially, the evidence in the trial. This project serves the useful purpose of acquainting the public with the issues, though it cannot have any influence on the juridical outcome.

Fortunately, justice in this nation is still administered by the exact rules of the courts. But even these exact rules can result in the miscarriage of justice, as for instance in the atmosphere of hysteria that surrounded the Rosenberg case. The petitioning committee feels that a commutation of the sentence, rather than a new trial, would be the best way of establishing for ourselves and proclaiming to the world that mercy is frequently necessary to supplement justice and to perfect the imperfections of the rules of justice, the very exactness of which may, on occasion, lead to a miscarriage of justice.

The committee does not challenge the Rosenberg decision: it believes that the defendants had a fair trial, at least as fair as the emotions of the period allowed. This writer, not necessarily the whole committee, is of the opinion that the Rosenbergs, though found guilty, should have had their death sentence commuted to life imprisonment, rather for moral and international-political reasons than for the exact purpose of justice. The Rosenbergs were fanatic Communists. From the perspective of the nation they were guilty of a grievous crime. In their own eyes and in the eyes of the Communists and fellow-travelers of the world, they were righteous martyrs of a great cause. R. N.

Labor, Management and the McClellan Committee

JOHN A. FITCH

WITH A FUND of \$750,000 to carry it through another twelve months, the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field started its third year of work in February. During its first two years the committee heard a host of witnesses, and the printed record to date fills more than 17,000 pages. The testimony has revealed an almost unbelievable amount of misuse or embezzlement of union funds by officers of certain unions, as well as less spectacular forms of misbehavior on the part of certain agents of management.

Public reaction has ranged from a shocked suspicion that most unions are corrupt to an attitude of cynical indifference and, on the part of a few, even defense of outrageous felonies. "If I were a truck driver," a young lawyer casually remarked, "I would not worry about the behavior of Jimmy Hoffa; I would remember how he boosted my wages." Noteworthy for its absence in general public discussion, though not overlooked by the unions, is a concern about "improper activities" on the part of management.

Before attempting to summarize the outstanding disclosures of the committee, the limits of the investigations should be noted. As of June, according to Robert Kennedy, counsel to the committee, "fifteen unions and more than fifty companies" had been found to be engaged in "improper activities" (*Life*, June 1). Thus it is evident that only a fraction of either labor or management has come under committee indictment.

The following is an attempt to set forth in brief compass some of the most significant of the facts revealed in the testimony.

Improper Activities Attributed to Labor

In its Interim Report issued in March 1957, the committee stated that it had "uncovered the shocking fact that union funds in excess of \$10,000,000 were either stolen, embezzled or misused by union officials over a period of fifteen years" for financial gain of themselves or their friends. Other disclosures, some of them equally disturbing, have emerged from the hearings.

The record of the Teamsters Union reveals an incredible degree of the most callous indifference

Mr. Fitch has written widely in the area of industrial relations, his latest work being *The Social Responsibility of Organized Labor* (Harpers).

to moral scruple, as well as to their obligations to dues-paying-members, on the part of the highest officers in the union. The Interim Report states that Dave Beck, union president from 1952 to 1957 "took, not borrowed, more than \$370,000" from the union treasury, paying it back in part only after the Internal Revenue Service began to investigate.

Through an intermediary, bills to the extent of \$85,000 were charged to the union to meet the personal expenses of Beck, his son and various friends. The union treasury was drawn upon to pay landscape artists and florists to beautify the grounds about his house, and, ultimately, through action by the executive board, the union bought the house, paying Beck \$163,000 for it, and then turned it back to him, rent free.

Frank Brewster, a Teamster vice president, used union funds to maintain a racing stable.

James Hoffa, now president of the union, has "repeatedly betrayed the members of his own union," the Interim Report states, "by entering into a number of business relationships with employers with whom his union negotiated." His connection with and use of underworld characters have been among his most notorious activities.

Hoffa has a penchant for hiring ex-convicts and giving them positions of authority in the union. From a number of these he borrowed (or demanded) sums of money that he kept without suggestion of repayment and finally returned without interest on the eve of his appearance before the committee.

The pattern thus set by the Teamsters of thievery, squandering of union funds, shady business deals, violence—on the picket lines and to discourage revolts among the membership—has been followed, to some extent, by other unions studied. The secretary-treasurer of the Laundry Workers Union is mentioned in the Interim Report as having stolen \$900,000 from union and welfare funds. Two officers of the Textile Workers Union of America took \$57,000 from the union treasury with which to purchase homes and an additional \$17,000 for furnishings.

At the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' 1956 convention, President James G. Cross succeeded in having the constitution amended so as to give him the right to hire, fire and fix the salaries of inter-

national representatives who constituted 75 per cent of the union's executive board. Soon after the convention this board met and, under its already existing power, raised the president's salary from \$17,500 to \$30,000. Cross then "returned the favor" by raising the salaries of the board members.

The committee found that George Stuart, a vice-president of the Bakers' Union, "muled Chicago locals of \$10,000." Of this, \$13,000, described on the union books as for a "joint organizational drive" with the Teamsters Union, actually was used for the purchase of "Cadillacs for Stuart and Cross."

Such thefts, the committee reported, were made possible because Stuart had been placed in complete control of the locals as trustee, with power to appoint and dismiss the officers.

And so the sordid story goes on. Cross and Stuart, to accommodate an employer from whom Cross had borrowed large sums of money, signed a substandard contract against the will of the affected employees. Teamster officials in New York supported racketeer Johnny Dio in setting up phony locals through which "sweetheart" contracts were arranged that enabled employers to exploit their workers. Agents of Sheet Metal Workers locals in Chicago held up small contractors, compelling them to pay bribes for the right to do business. The Operating Engineers Union, whose constitution excludes half of its members from the right to vote for union officers, has carried disfranchisement further by placing locals under trusteeship. The members of two Chicago locals have thus been deprived of self-government for 29 years.

... and to Management

Some of the companies studied, according to the Interim Report, engaged in collusion with unions by paying their officials in order to get "favored treatment by way of 'sweetheart' contracts," or contracts imposing "substandard working conditions." Certain companies "have granted business concessions and loans to union leaders with whom they want to curry favor." Some management has used labor spies, discriminated against union sympathizers among their employees, "forced employees to join [favored] unions" without ascertaining their wishes "by arranging for 'top down' contracts"—all of which are illegal under the Taft-Hartley Act.

Evidence supporting these charges referred, in the main, to small and medium-sized establishments, but the list included a few companies of considerable magnitude and importance. The Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company obtained certain advantages through a collusive agreement with

the Meat Cutters Union in New York City whereby interference with the free choice of a union by the employees was accomplished. Sears, Roebuck and Co. was also involved in a series of improper activities. A few weeks ago the committee heard testimony that certain New York newspapers made payments to labor racketeers to ensure deliveries to newsdealers during a truckmen's strike in 1948.

Some of the small employers have had improper practices forced upon them by threats or extortionist demands from crooks and have yielded in order to purchase labor "peace." This was notably true of the victims of the racketeering crew led by Johnny Dio in New York. Yet these employers are not entitled to complete absolution, for some of them were not blind to certain advantages to be obtained by yielding. The contracts they signed contained few provisions for improved wages or working conditions for their employees. Frequently the wage scale agreed to was simply the legal minimum of \$1 an hour.

A group of small employers from Flint, Michigan, told the committee how they had succeeded in resisting organizing efforts by the Teamsters Union. One after another, each of these employers sought the advice of a "labor counselor" who for a fee undertook to solve their difficulties. The fee consisted of a monthly "retainer" of \$75 to \$250 (graduated apparently according to the size of the pay roll) plus \$1,800 or more in a lump sum for "entertainment."

The counselor was not explicit about the purpose of the lump sum but said it was for "the boys." Under pressure from the committee members, most of the employers testified that they understood that "the boys" were Teamsters officers.

In every case, after engaging the "counselor," the union threat was removed. Harassing tactics ceased, pickets disappeared, organizers went elsewhere.

An employer who had thus been relieved of union pressure assured the committee that his payments had been "worthwhile." When asked if he was "perfectly happy" under the arrangement, he replied, "I think so."

George Kamenov, the "counselor" referred to above, who hid behind the Fifth Amendment when called before the committee, was a member of the staff of Labor Relations Associates, Inc. The firm was established in 1939 by Nathan W. Shefferman, who was described as a "labor relations man for Sears, Roebuck" at that time. Having been assisted financially in its initial stages by Sears, the agency grew rapidly and in 1956 was said to have upwards

of 400 employer clients. Of the 10 "top money" clients in the list, 23 were using the agency to keep unions out of their plants or to install "friendly unions."

How both methods could be used in the same plant is illustrated by the experience of Morton Frozen Food Co. of Webster City, Iowa. The Shefferman firm helped to defeat the Packing House Workers Union in their efforts to organize the plant. Having done this, it then cooperated with the company in bringing in the Bakery and Confectionery Workers as bargaining representatives of the employees. Through misrepresentation the employees were led to accept the union and a contract that had been drawn up in the Shefferman office and signed by the officers of the company and the national officers of the union. There was no consultation with the employees who were affected by it.

As this indicates, and as the Interim Report stated, "Shefferman not only was used to keep unions out but was a specialist in finding a friendly union, one the employer could 'live with.'" The Report lists a group of important companies, including Sears, for which Shefferman rendered these services. The latter firm, which has since severed its connection with Industrial Relations Associates and repudiated its tactics, paid Shefferman "some \$78,000" for "preventing a legitimate unionization" of their Boston store.

From the establishment of Industrial Relations Associates in 1939 until the severance of its relationship with Sears in 1956, Shefferman, despite his anti-union activities, was on very friendly terms with certain prominent union officials. He cultivated these relationships in order to promote the "public relations phases" of his work. Among labor men with whom Shefferman established friendly relations, his closest ties in recent years had been with Dave Beck, of whom he told the committee: "I have known Mr. Beck for more than 20 years. [He] has been a friend and a very good friend . . . He is very attentive to his friends and very generous to his folks and people who surround him . . . a terrific personality and a very fine gentleman."

Remedial Efforts

With respect to management's attitude toward derelictions within its own ranks, it should be noted that two employing concerns of very great importance have "confessed error" and made public apologies—Sears, Roebuck and *The New York Times*. The latter stated in an editorial: "*The Times* would not today under any circumstances agree to

reimburse any of its contractors for payments to union officials." It should also be realized that the instances cited of misbehavior on the part of management are far less heinous than the outrages that have been perpetrated by some of the officers of unions.

Nevertheless some of management's activities, when viewed without comparisons, are serious indeed and offensive to good conscience. It is this fact that makes the failure of any of the major representative business organizations to condemn or suggest measures for correcting management misbehavior a serious matter. Such groups or their spokesmen have not failed to express themselves vigorously with respect to legislation that they feel is needed to punish wrongdoing on the part of the unions.

Organized labor, as represented by the AFL-CIO, acting through its Ethical Practices Committee and its major administrative and legislative bodies, has taken steps toward cleaning up or throwing out the worst elements within its ranks. Three unions—the Teamsters, the Bakers and the Laundry Workers—have been expelled. The United Textile Workers Union was suspended until its corrupt officers were dismissed and other reform action was taken; two other small unions, the Allied Industrial Workers and the Distillery Workers, were placed on probation, pending action by their conventions requested by the AFL-CIO. The Ethical Practices Committee and the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO are continuing their investigation of the Carpenters Union.

The only final action possible to the parent body is expulsion—it cannot exact specific penalties. That expulsion in itself is no guarantee of reform is evidenced by the experience of the Teamsters Union, which has retained most of its corrupt officers and is said to have increased its membership since expulsion.

The agencies possessing the requisite power for dealing with the offenses and crimes uncovered by the committee are governmental. State and Federal law enforcement bodies have made a limited and seemingly reluctant attack. Robert Kennedy states that "the federal government has obtained convictions of only three individuals."

The one case where reasonably prompt action has been taken is in the state of Washington where Dave Beck was convicted of grand larceny in a state court and of income tax evasion in a federal court, with combined sentences of twenty years in prison and a fine of \$60,000. There have been a few in-

(Continued on page 96)

DRAMA

TENNESSEE WILLIAMS: *Geographer of Hell*

Seeing a Tennessee Williams play is like being hauled an armful of electric eels. You may not know quite what to do about it but you know you have had a memorable experience. His latest, *Sweet Bird of Youth*, for example, alternately jolts and repels with an intensity audiences will long remember.

The story deals with two disintegrating lives intertwined by the accident of a seaside pickup and the urgency of their mutual needs—Chance Wayne, a fading aspirant actor, and Ariadne Del Lago, a Hollywood has-been in frantic flight from herself. Chance is clawing desperately for the top and fame. Ariadne is seeking to forget a wrecked career by drink, drugs and sex. Each seeks to use the other to accomplish his aims.

Chance takes the disturbed actress to his small southern hometown to use her name and influence to re-establish himself as the local idol. He wants to marry Heavenly, his childhood sweetheart (whom he has infected with a venereal disease necessitating a hysterectomy), against the wishes of her father, a racist political boss.

The two plots are: the struggle of Ariadne to survive as a person and artist in a jungle-world that rejects her; and the struggle of Chance to become a demigod (movie star), to vindicate himself by saving Heavenly and to escape the vengeance of her father and brother. Ariadne wins her struggle and returns triumphant to the land of the "Ogres"—Chance loses and faces castration and death as the curtain falls.

The production is directed by Elia Kazan with a fluid intensity that makes this personal nightmare almost too intimate an experience to bear. The dramatic action flows freely across differing stage levels delineated only by diaphanous sets and area lighting. This creates an open, oceanic effect that heightens the vivid "waking dream" quality of the play. One felt, especially at the end of the second act, the entire audience trembling on the verge of waking up screaming.

The performances are all excellent and reflect the drive and bravura of the direction. Geraldine Page creates an ogress to remember, and Paul Newman, acting against his type, movingly communicates the pathetic death of a cafe-society darling. Rip Torn, Sidney Blackmer and others etched indelible personal images on the mind of the audience.

Chance seeks to storm heaven with his vital maleness; his pathetic frenzy spends itself in mutilation and death. He has gambled and lost. Ariadne, with a female rhythm of receiving and giving back (birth), scores a transient victory over "the enemy time." She is granted a gratuitous apotheosis. To her is given all the immortality to be had in a finite, dying world—the immortality of the artist who

transmutes ugliness into beauty, suffering into revelation. (The audience is not led to hope that this rare gift can be theirs; they are the Chances of the world, spending themselves in futility. "I do not ask for your pity... just for your recognition of me in you...") The creator's gift to transcend time is the only light in the darkness of Mr. Williams' world, but it is a light. *Veni, creator spiritus!*

Sweet Bird mercilessly reveals the bankruptcy of the paganism that passes for the American Way of Life with only feeble attempts to hide behind slogans about God. The gross (but slickly merchandized) materialism and the cynical *mystique de jeunesse* that pervades American thinking is brought to a painful focus. Little wonder that there has been some violent reaction to the play.

The twin threats of "the enemy time" and man's unaccountable perverseness have always challenged humanism's hopes. The only recourse is to deny their reality and to assert man's control of himself as, for example, Marya Mannes does in her review in *The Reporter*. *Miss Mannes* may not sink to drink, dope or sexual excess but many have, do and will. And not the least among men, either. The fact of sin is as true for the pharisee as for publican. After the shades of gray of liberal humanism, it is almost a relief to look into the violent contrasts of Tennessee Williams' pagan world.

Thus, much of the negative reaction to Tennessee Williams arises because his plays are a dynamic affront to deeply accepted presuppositions of the sufficiency and original righteousness of man. Few humanists can bear to see the wreck of their beliefs so poignantly stated. On the other hand, the Christian can see and accept the worst about man because his certitude rests in the perfection of the Creator, not in the perfectability of the creature.

As for the future of Tennessee Williams, I hazard a guess that this play may well make an end to his savage studies of perversity and violence. It seems to me that Mr. Williams has hurled himself headlong down a philosophical and artistic dead-end. Now there must come some kind of self-transcendence (these miracles of grace are not so rare), or the rest is silence.

He has never been a regional writer. He is not a southern writer or even a writer about the South. (Interesting to note is the total absence of a single convincing Negro in any of his major plays.) His frame is universal. He affects so deeply because he is a man on a pilgrimage through his unconscious, which is in some electrifying areas the unconscious of us all. This pilgrimage may stall in a private hell or it may proceed out of the depths to a new level of wholeness and integrity in which we can all participate. I do not believe it will stall.

Whatever happens, it is the most absorbing tour now being offered by any living dramatist I know of—South, North, East or West. And after all, in an age that has lost its way, directions even from a geographer of Hell must not be despised. To know Hell and its dimensions may well be the first faltering step toward Heaven.

Mr. Lanier is an Episcopal clergyman closely related to the theatre.

SIDNEY LANIER

(Continued from page 94)

dictments in state courts and some convictions, but in the main—to quote Kennedy again—"there is appalling public apathy."

Federal courts are unable to deal with most of the cases because of lack of appropriate legislation. To remedy this situation the Labor Committee of the Senate presented a bill, known as the Kennedy-Ervin bill, to empower the Department of Justice and the Secretary of Labor to act effectively against most of the offenses uncovered by the committee.

This bill, if enacted into law, will set up substantial roadblocks to various forms of corruption and will protect the voting rights of members. The bill requires unions to make detailed reports of their financial affairs; union officers must report any financial dealing that might create a conflict of interest. Embezzlement of union funds is made a federal crime.

Employers are required to report expenditures for industrial espionage, and both employers and management consultants will be obliged to report expenditures intended to influence employees with respect to their bargaining rights or to oppose the exercise of such rights.

Strict rules are set up to prevent the evils that have emerged with respect to placing locals under trusteeship. Election of officers must be held at regular intervals, and local officers and convention delegates must be elected by secret ballot. The right of union members to assemble to discuss union affairs is asserted, and members can be disciplined only under due process procedures.

The bill, with amendments, passed the Senate with a single vote in opposition. It is now before the House where it is being opposed, for different reasons, by labor and management bodies. The outlook for the enactment this year of a law that will curb the activities that clearly constitute a national scandal appears to be dim.

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A Word for Father Weigel

TO THE EDITORS: Father Weigel ("Inside American Roman Catholicism," June 8) displays a mentality that we in POAU have grown accustomed to when he speaks snidely of our organization and attempts to pass it off with a sneer. It is, alas, the attitude of a man—and a church—so smug and insulated that it cannot even conceive that there could be any validity to concerns and questions that millions deeply feel.

Fr. Weigel thinks we don't represent Protestants. Well, who does? You can be very sure about this, Fr. Weigel: that on certain specific issues involving the separation of Church and State we have spoken for a lot of Protestants—a whole lot of them. Also for many Jews and a smaller number of Roman Catholics who are in our membership.

Contemplate this: for the past twelve years our membership and readership have uninterruptedly grown, month by month, and our orbit of committees, chapters and cooperating groups has steadily and impressively expanded. Why? There is a reason, Fr. Weigel, and not all of it lies on the opposite side of the fence from you.

Incidentally, Fr. Weigel, one reason why Roman Catholics are so ignorant of Protestant worship and belief, a fact you so well deplore, is the rule of your church that forbids them to visit a Protestant service or read Protestant books. Makes inter-communication difficult.

C. STANLEY LOWELL
Associate Director, POAU
Washington, D.C.

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SIDNEY LANIER

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intercollegian

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the sixth Assembly of the Student YMCA-YWCA

Issue of the month

second report issue

The case of Morton Sobell

At the Assembly, both Dr. Paul Lehmann and Dr. Gardner Murphy called attention to the Morton Sobell trial and sentence. Student Christian Associations should study the record of this case. Wherever a possible serious malfeasance of justice in any society exists, that society cannot go long without examining its behavior and practice.

The following statement has been made by a group of distinguished citizens. We commend it to the attention of every Christian Association.

THE UNDERSIGNED are American citizens who believe that the sentence of Morton Sobell should now be commuted. Sobell was convicted of conspiring with others to transmit to the Soviet Union writings and information relating to the national defense of the United States and was sentenced on April 1, 1951 to serve thirty years in Federal Prison.

Morton Sobell was tried with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were convicted of espionage in connection with the atomic bomb and who were sentenced to death and later executed. Sobell, however, was never implicated in any way with involvement in the atomic espionage for which the Rosenbergs were convicted. This fact was confirmed by the judge who sentenced Sobell.

This statement is not concerned with the Rosenberg conviction. The undersigned are and consistently have been convinced anti-Communists. None are associated with any organization, committee or group of any kind concerned either with the case of the Rosenbergs or that of Sobell, nor are any of the undersigned connected in any way with Morton Sobell or any members of his family. After study of the case, we believe that the following considerations warrant a commutation of the very heavy sentence Sobell is now serving.

1. Sobell was never implicated with atomic espionage for which the Rosenbergs were convicted.
2. The charges against Sobell, supported mainly by the testimony of one man, Max Elitcher, were that he had solicited information, and had on one occasion taken something which looked like a can of film to Julius Rosenberg. No specific item of information supposed to have been secured by him or transmitted by him to anyone else is specified in the record. The case against him, therefore, is vague in content and slender in proof. The possibility that a trip to Mexico which he and his family took should be construed as flight cannot be ignored, though it is subject to various interpretations.
3. Whether or not the judge and prosecution made sufficient efforts to provide a fair trial, we ought to recognize that the emotions surrounding the trial of the Rosenbergs and the fact that Sobell's case was tried with theirs made it difficult to separate the two cases and to recognize

the very different character of the two charges and the evidence introduced to support them respectively.

4. Sobell has already served, with good conduct, nearly eight years in prison, six of them in Alcatraz.

5. As Americans we are fully aware of the threat of communism to our freedom and way of life. Any attack on that freedom from without or within must be resisted. Nevertheless, one of the factors which makes that freedom so precious is its capacity to practice a disciplined and humane administration of justice precisely in those cases where emotions are aroused which make it difficult to remain objective about the merits of a specific case. We believe a commutation of the Sobell sentence would demonstrate our national faith in that freedom.

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Princeton University

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(Titles are for identification only.)

WHAT YOU CAN DO . . .

1. Malcolm T. Sharp's book *Was Justice Done?* (The Monthly Review Press, \$3.50) is a very good point of departure. He is a law professor at the University of Chicago. The foreword is by Dr. Harold Urey.
2. A three page statement by Dr. Paul Lehmann is available upon request. This is an enlargement of the remarks he made at the Assembly on the Sobell case.
3. Other sources: Oliver Pilat, *Atom Spies*; John Wexley, *Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg*; William Reuben *The Atom Spy Hoax*. Also refer to U. of Chicago *Law Review*, Spring 1957, Vol. 24, No. 3, p. 588; *Yale Law Journal*, Jan. 1958, Vol. 67, No. 3, p. 528; *Wayne Law Review*, Winter 1956, Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 85.
4. Form a group of faculty and students to talk this through, seeking to bring the intelligence, information and convictions of the group to bear on this concrete issue of justice.

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The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell
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NOTE: The following comments on the Morton Sobell case by Dr. Paul Lehmann of the Harvard Divinity School are being sent by the Intercollegian, student YMCA-YWCA publication, in response to requests for more information about the trial and imprisonment of Mr. Sobell.

MORTON SOBELL: SYMBOL OF THE CHRISTIAN'S CONCERN FOR JUSTICE

The Christian's concern for justice is a basic response to what the God revealed to us in Jesus Christ and described in the Bible is doing in the world. Images get to the heart of the matter more quickly than do concepts, and a careful reading of the Bible will disclose that the characteristic images in terms of which the Bible describes what God is doing in the world are political images. They are political images in the fundamental sense of the word "political"; for politics has to do with what it takes to make and to keep human life human. The God of the Bible is thus at work in the world "to destroy and to overthrow, to build and to plant" (Jeremiah 1:10); "he has gathered the proud in the imagination of their hearts, he has put down the mighty from their thrones, and exalted those of low degree" (Luke 1:51-52); he chooses "what is low and despised in the world, even things that are not, to bring to nothing things that are, so that no human being might boast in the presence of God" (1 Corinthians 1:28-29). In this context, justice is the setting right of what is not right in the world, the breaking down of every barrier to the fulfillment of human wholeness and the making room for what is genuinely human in the relations of men in their dealings with themselves and with one another.

Morton Sobell was convicted and sentenced to prison in the wake of the trial, convictions and sentencing of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg (1951-53). His case has been called "the outstanding example of the serious lasting effects of the spy scare". The precepts and processes of justice are the right and proper instruments through which human societies order the common life, and endeavor both to protect and to further man's humanity as against his inhumanity to man. But in the actual exercise of justice, human societies not infrequently subordinate the claims of justice to the interests of power, and from time to time in the course of human affairs the destructive impulses and capacities of men, their hatreds and their fears, become compounded with irrational, deep and widespread insecurity, so that the very procedures and structures of justice become the instruments of the miscarriage of justice. I say "miscarriage" not because all legal processes have not been duly exercised and the judgment of wise and learned jurists asked. But a "miscarriage of justice" arises because the rules of legal evidence and the more delicate, difficult and fundamental human evidence are at variance, if not in conflict, the one with the other. The maxim "beyond reasonable doubt", designed to keep a healthy tension between the legal and the human evidence when the question of justice or injustice is up, proves under conditions of public hysteria to be a slender reed upon which a society can rest its conscience and its peace.

All this may be granted by non-Christians as well as by Christians. Indeed, non-Christians have often been more sensitive to the cleavage between legal and human evidence in matters of justice than Christians have been. Nevertheless, the authentic response of Christian faith to what God is doing in the world is nowhere more evident than in the persistent and restless sensitivity to miscarriages of justice which cannot come to peace with itself until law has once again been restored to its authentic function as an instrument for the humanization of man in his relatedness to man.

Morton Sobell was sentenced to prison for a thirty-year term in 1951. First in Leavenworth and then in Alcatraz, symbols of American punitive power at its worst, Sobell has been serving his sentence amidst rising doubts in the body politic of the United States about the evidence upon which he was actually convicted and remanded to prison. It is these rising doubts

which lift the Sobell case above the level of the processes whereby injustice can be legally redressed, and transfer it to a level of symbolic significance of the sanity, stability and integrity of the common life in the United States. It is this symbolic significance which sharply juxtaposes the power of the state and the human significance of an individual citizen. It is this symbolic significance which sharply poses the question whether any society can safely allow a serious malfeasance of justice to continue without redress. It is this symbolic significance which sharply poses the question whether Morton Sobell has not in the last analysis been caught up by forces which are so vastly more powerful and ominous than he or his deeds or misdeeds could possibly be, so that the humanistic foundations of justice in a society which has imprisoned him are at stake.

In a time of conformity, when non-conformity is a risk, students and their campuses do not need - above all things - the antidote of causes. What they need above all things is to remember that human creativity has always been high when men have kept sensitive to what was immediately around them and out of joint. Whether one come to the conclusion that the Sobell case should be reviewed or not, that Morton Sobell should be pardoned by executive clemency or not, a serious study and discussion of the issues and the significance of Morton Sobell's ordeal may well serve as an unforgettable undergraduate experience in what it takes to be and to stay a human being in this kind of world.

Whether or not Sobell is a Christian, I do not know. It does not matter. Christ died - not for Christians only - but for the ungodly, that is, for all men, Christians included. As God in Christ makes no conditions for forgiving men their sins and including them in fellowship with Him, so Christians make no conditions for their obedient concern for all sorts and conditions of men. The Christian doctrines of the Incarnation and Atonement mean nothing so much as that God who is revealed in Christ is active and at work on the frontiers of man's humanity to man. Student YM and YWCA's have lost their real excuse for being unless they are steadily responsive to what God is doing on that frontier. Thus it comes about that Morton Sobell is the next-door neighbor of every campus YM and YWCA, who confronts them out of a great silence with the question of the integrity of their obedience to what God is doing in the world.

The basic factual materials for a discussion of the issues and significance of the Sobell case are of course the trial record itself. This can be obtained from the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell at 940 Broadway, New York 10, New York. But this record is long and tedious and perhaps not the most rewarding way to begin to understand the case. For this purpose the book by Professor Malcolm T. Sharp, of the Faculty of Law at the University of Chicago, entitled Was Justice Done?, New York, 1956, The Monthly Review Press, is the best point of departure. I could imagine groups of faculty and students under the leadership of the campus YM and YWCA spending a series of evenings in fruitful discussion of Professor Sharp's book, and going on from there as the discussion pointed the way. In some such way as this, intelligence, information, and conviction could be brought to bear upon one concrete issue of justice in our present society, and some glimpse be gained of what it means to live not in conformity, but in the freedom of a transforming faith.

Paul Lehmann
Harvard Divinity School
March, 1959

The following is the full text of the independent plea for Morton Sobell which was reported in the New York Times on February 22, 1959.

A STATEMENT ON THE CASE OF MORTON SOBELL

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Round-trip bus fare from New York City to Camp Midvale: \$1.00. This is a special bus chartered by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. It will leave New York at 10:00 A. M. and return about 7:00 P. M. Reservations should be made as soon as possible with the American Committee.

Space in automobiles going to Camp Midvale will be available. If you plan to go to the Picnic and want transportation, get in touch with the American Committee immediately.

PUBLIC BUS: Take Warwick Bus from Greyhound Terminal 50th Street and 8th Avenue, New York City, to Midvale, New Jersey, and a taxi to Camp Midvale.

AUTOMOBILE: Take Routes 46, 23 and 202 to Pompton Lakes. Ringwood Avenue to Midvale. Make left turn on Ringwood Avenue to Westbrook Valley Road and Snake Den Road to Camp Midvale.

There is a *Third Side*
to the
Rosenberg-Sobell Case

IRWIN EDELMAN

*"I enjoy, far more than these words will convey the manuscript. . .
You have done a tremendous service to the
cause of human justice in preparing this material.
I am appalled at the implications. . ."*

Stephen H. Fritchman, Minister of the First Unitarian Church
of Los Angeles, in a letter of comment dated March 5, 1958.

The following letter appeared in the current (June) issue of LIBERATION:

June, the month of the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, seems to me a particularly suitable occasion for a request for help in an effort that has had my concentrated attention for close to six years.

I need secretarial and editorial assistance for putting into shape a book-length manuscript that gives extremely important, never disclosed facts about the Rosenberg-Sobell case—facts that can rip that "closed" case wide open. My immediate need is for a typist to type up revised copies of the manuscript and an editor to give it a critical look, the work to be paid for when the book is published or earlier if I can manage it—that is, if I can get the funds.

The manuscript is tentatively titled *The Suppressed Facts in the Rosenberg Case* and it centers on the defense-sponsored scaling of a copy of a secret that according to scientists had never existed and according to the prosecution had long been given away to the Russians. The gist of what the facts convey is that the avowed foes of the Rosenbergs were engaged in a horrible miscarriage of justice while their avowed friends were engaged in the concealment of information that could have changed the climate of opinion on the case—and still can.

How do I come by such facts?

I am one of the "intruders and interlopers"—the quote is Judge Kaufman's—who, over the resistance of the Rosenberg defense attorney and defense committee, forced their way into the case with action that came within a hair's breadth of snatching the Rosenbergs from death. My intrusion began in November 1952 when I published a paper, but criticizing the conduct of the defense, and it climaxed on the 17th of June 1953, when a petition in my name as "next friend" of the Rosenbergs obtained from Supreme Court Justice Douglas that world-stirring last-minute stay of the execution.

Three world celebrities—Albert Einstein, Lion Feuchtwanger and Lewis Mumford—had read early drafts of the manuscript and gave it high praise in their letters of comment. Einstein thought it "excellent" and said that it had convinced him that "from the viewpoint of restoring sanity to our political climate, one must not let this case rest."

Not least among the implications is the fate of the co-defendant in the Rosenberg trial—Morton Sobell, the young

scientist who is serving a 30-year sentence on the flimsiest evidence and the testimony of a self-confessed perjurer who had an axe to grind. My manuscript deals with the Sobell case and is highly critical of the efforts of the Sobell defense committee—many if not most of whose leaders were leading in the Rosenberg "defense." The defense efforts made on Sobell's behalf in the past five years have centered on a legalism that left the public as cold as the courts—the issue of whether the Government used proper or improper means for effecting his arrest. Since Sobell was tried jointly with the Rosenbergs for one and the same conspiracy, an effective attack upon the foundation of the case against the Rosenbergs is bound to undermine the case against Sobell.

The Sobell Defense

My critical view of the Sobell committee's efforts is shared by a competent lawyer—Fyke Farmer, the Nashville attorney who almost saved the Rosenbergs.

Mr. Farmer's interest in the case was aroused by my pamphlet criticizing Emmanuel H. Bloch's conduct of the Rosenberg defense. His examination of the record disclosed important errors I had had no conception of, errors which it required a legally trained mind to perceive. In February 1953, he submitted his findings to Bloch and to the committee heads, and in the months which followed he made every reasonable effort to get them to bring the errors to the attention of the courts. Five days before the scheduled execution, all such efforts having failed, he filed the petition in my name as "next friend" of the Rosenbergs.

It was six months before the Rosenberg execution that Mr. Farmer had sent me from New York a keenly observant and prophetic letter whose contents I made public in February 1953 but which merits quoting again for the significance it still has:

... A funny thing, said Mr. Farmer, about all these people that have been connected with the case is that they seem not to want any outside comment or help. I went to the office of the Rosenberg committee when I first came here. Mrs. [Helen] Sobell met me—gave me

literature and loaned me a copy of the record. But when I began to make suggestions in the form of questions, I sensed that she was not interested.

Bloch received me when he was busy preparing for the hearing on his motion for *habeas corpus*. But, I was under the impression that he felt that he knew all about the case and that nobody else could possibly know anything.

I am convinced that a terrible injustice has been done the Rosenbergs. . . I am still thinking about what can be done. If anything is possible, it will have to be done outside of and independent of the Rosenberg committee, Bloch and the *National Guardian*.

After the execution, the news of Mr. Farmer's almost successful efforts seems to have reached Morton Sobell and prompted him to press for Mr. Farmer's entry into the case on his behalf. Under date of April 6, 1954, Mr. Farmer received an invitation:

. . . I want to assure you, Helen Sobell wrote him, I have the highest respect for the creative manner in which you approached the case and I only hope that you will give us the benefit of your thinking again. I assure you we will be more receptive than we have been in the past. The brutal fact remains that my husband is still in Alcatraz, still sentenced to 30 years in prison, and I must find some way to bring him home again. I need your help.

Two months later, David Alman, the national executive secretary of the committee, came to Nashville to discuss this case with Mr. Farmer. He left with the understanding that Farmer would give it thought and let him know.

. . . Confidentially to you, Farmer wrote to me, I am considering getting in the case. There will have to be some conditions, one being that I and not the Committee would control the litigation. I would have to have authorization from Sobell himself. I think I would insist on talking with Sobell, although Alman told me only his wife was permitted to see him. He said Sobell was a bit dissatisfied with his present attorney. It was my understanding that Sobell wanted me to represent him. I suppose this came through his wife.

. . . Since Sobell doesn't have a sentence of death hanging over him, I would litigate in the usual way all the questions raised in the petition I filed in your capacity as intervenor. This means that Bloch's error in sealing the exhibits and Greenglass' testimony will be one of the points. . .

I will be glad to learn what you think of the matter.

My prompt reply was that "I can see nothing wrong with the idea of your entering the case along the line you outlined. To the extent that it has possibilities of liberating Sobell and vindicating the Rosenbergs it surely has my blessings." But nothing came of it. The nightmare thought must have occurred to those in charge that if Sobell got his freedom in the manner indicated, it would show that the Rosenbergs could have been saved in the same way. A letter from Alman the following week informed Mr. Farmer that "we are uncertain of what efficiency court actions may have at this time," and that "in view of your reservations, we hesitate to ask you to give your energies now towards the continuance of legal moves of such uncertain nature."

In the five years gone by since, the Sobell committee has done precious little to bring the essential facts of the Rosenberg-Sobell case before the courts and the people. In the legal sphere, as noted in the LIBERATION letter, its activities have centered on a tepid side-issue of whether Sobell's arrest was or was not made according to Hoyle; while in the sphere of public relations its activities have been of a kind that brought it into contact with a minimum of people and a maximum of cash, the devices most used being small house parties and exclusive dinners-in-honor. There was a dinner in honor of Professor Malcolm Sharp at \$100 a plate, one in honor of Senator William Langer at \$100 a plate, one in honor of attorney Dan Marshall at \$30 a plate, and others of the kind. Each of the dinners must have been followed by stimulating after-dinner speeches that magnificently stimulated the digestion of the roasts and

pastry consumed by the wealthy contributors. And each of the speeches must have stimulated sweetly melancholic sighs for the prisoner in Alcatraz.

Such was the 5-year struggle the committee waged for the liberation of Morton Sobell.

Why the "Closed" Case Is Not Closed

With their graves unmarked, their children living under an assumed name and the public conscience untouched, the case of the Rosenbergs would seem to be hopelessly closed and best forgotten. But there is one good reason why it *must* be opened and one sure way in which it *can* be opened.

The case *must* be opened because in the way it is closed it is responsible for dangerous confusion in millions of minds, poisonous confusion of the kind that could erupt with volcanic force in a time of social tension. The case *can* be opened—quickly and effectively—by lifting the lid on the extremely important facts that have been suppressed by the avowed foes of the Rosenbergs and their ostensible friends.

The word *ostensible* is here used very deliberately. It defines a key feature of the case that sharply differentiates it from most other miscarriages of justice, a feature that explains what many have found hard to understand—why it is that the case has remained closed for six long years notwithstanding the fact that it is one of the worst-closed cases in history. The key to the puzzle lies in the unpretty fact that in all this time the "friends" and the foes have been shadow-boxing in a way which concealed the most essential side of the case from view.

The issues in a contested case can generally be decided by a hearing of two sides. But the Rosenberg-Sobell case has a third side that is indispensable for an understanding of what happened and why—the side of intruders who, with no resources other than truth and justice on their side, fought and almost won a two-front war against the Government and the "friends."

There is clearly more to this case than has been indicated by the 3-year-long dialogue between the "friends" and the foes. Within the confines of this brochure it is impossible even to list the vital facts suppressed; impossible to do more than mention that Bloch's manner of entry into the Rosenberg case has aspects that are as questionable as his conduct of the case; impossible to do more than point to the long, total silence of the subsequently most vocal defenders, to the incredible fact that the *Daily Worker*, the *Jewish Morning Freiheit*, the west coast *People's World*, the weekly *National Guardian*, and a number of other like-minded publications never reported the arrest of the Rosenbergs and Sobell, never mentioned the pre-trial developments, and did not publish a single word about the case during the entire 23-day period that the trial lasted.

The third side of the Rosenberg-Sobell case urgently needs telling. It has been and is my intention to do so. But to do it effectively and to do it in time, I need secretarial, editorial, financial and moral assistance. The job I am trying to do should be everybody's business.

Those in any way able to help, please write to:

IRWIN EDELMAN
G. P. O. Box 463 New York 1, N. Y.

LET'S FIGHT! STRUGGLE ALONE WILL FREE MORTON SOBELL!!

We salute the brave prisoner of American imperialism, Morton Sobell!

We salute this brave American who when so many sell out their convictions and attempt to make peace with their oppressors stands firm in the Atlanta hell-hole.

Morton Sobell is innocent, as were the Rosenbergs. This we do not have to convince you of. The question is how to free him.

All the pleas of intellectuals, rabbis, ministers or journalists, regardless of their sincerity, won't free him. The only thing that will free Morton Sobell is the united force of the working class, fighting for freedom for Morton Sobell and that of all political prisoners.

The working class is the key to open the "last door" - the door to his freedom. This is where the fight must be made.

It must be a fight not only for Morton Sobell, but for all of American imperialism's political prisoners - Rosalie Ingrahm, Wesley Wells, Schumann, Albizu Campos and Collazo, the Puerto Rican nationalists, Gil Green, Henry Winston, Robert Thompson, and all those others American imperialism has victimized because of their political convictions. Let us fight back against the whole system of political prisoners and hostages.

We of the Provisional Organizing Committee pledge our all-out effort in this fight. We offer our help in mobilizing the workers behind this struggle.

FREE MORTON SOBELL!
VINDICATE THE HEROIC ROSENBERGS!
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!
MOBILIZE THE WORKING CLASS BEHIND THIS FIGHT!

Issued by: N.Y. Provisional Organizing Committee for the
Reconstitution of a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party

The following is the full text of the independent plea for Morton Sobell which was reported in the New York Times on February 22, 1959.

A STATEMENT ON THE CASE OF MORTON SOBELL

The undersigned are American citizens who believe that the sentence of Morton Sobell should now be commuted. Sobell was convicted of conspiring with others to transmit to the Soviet Union writings and information relating to the national defense of the United States and was sentenced on April 1, 1951 to serve thirty years in Federal Prison.

Morton Sobell was tried with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were convicted of espionage in connection with the atomic bomb and who were sentenced to death and later executed. Sobell, however, was never implicated in any way with involvement in the atomic espionage for which the Rosenbergs were convicted. This fact was confirmed by the judge who sentenced Sobell.

This statement is not concerned with the Rosenberg conviction. The undersigned are and consistently have been convinced anti-Communists. None is associated with any organization, committee, or group of any kind concerned either with the case of the Rosenbergs or that of Sobell, nor are any of the undersigned connected in any way with Morton Sobell or any members of his family. After study of the case, we believe that the following considerations warrant a commutation of the very heavy sentence Sobell is now serving.

1) Sobell was never implicated with atomic espionage for which the Rosenbergs were convicted.

2) The charges against Sobell, supported mainly by the testimony of one man, Max Elitcher, were that he had solicited information, and had on one occasion taken something which looked like a can of film to Julius Rosenberg. No specific item of information supposed to have been secured by him or transmitted by him to anyone else is specified in the record. The case against him, therefore, is vague in content and slender in proof. The possibility that a trip to Mexico which he and his family took should be construed as flight cannot be ignored, though it is subject to various interpretations.

3) Whether or not the judge and prosecution made sufficient efforts to provide fair trial, we ought to recognize that the emotions surrounding the trial of the Rosenbergs and the fact that Sobell's case was tried with theirs made it difficult to separate the two cases and to recognize the very different character of the two charges and the evidence introduced to support them respectively.

4) Sobell has already served, with good conduct, nearly eight years in prison, six of them in Alcatraz.

5) As Americans we are fully aware of the threat of communism to our freedom and way of life. Any attack on that freedom from without or within must be resisted. Nevertheless, one of the factors which makes that freedom so precious is its capacity to practice a discipline and humane administration of justice precisely in those cases where emotions are aroused which make it difficult to remain objective about the merits of a specific case. We believe a commutation of the Sobell sentence would demonstrate our national faith in that freedom.

Herbald Niebuhr
Vice-President and Professor of
Ethics and Theology
Union Theological Seminary
New York City

John C. Bennett
Dean and Professor of Ethics and
Theology
Union Theological Seminary

Paul Ramsey
Professor of Religion
Princeton University

Edmond Cahn
Professor of Law
New York University

Daniel Day Williams
Professor of Systematic Theology
Union Theological Seminary

Jerome Nathanson
Administrative Leader
New York Society for Ethical
Culture

Gerhard O. W. Mueller
Associate Professor of Law
New York University

(titles are for identification only)

This statement has been reproduced as a public service by the
NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE FOR MORTON SOBELL
940 Broadway, New York 10, N. Y.

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Intercollegian

THE INTERCOLLEGIAN
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the sixth Assembly of
the Student YMCA-YWCA

Issue of the month

second report issue

The case of Morton Sobell

At the Assembly, both Dr. Paul Lehmann and Dr. Gardner Murphy called attention to the Morton Sobell trial and sentence. Student Christian Associations should study the record of this case. Wherever a possible serious malfeasance of justice in any society exists, that society cannot go long without examining its behavior and practice.

The following statement has been made by a group of distinguished citizens. We commend it to the attention of every Christian Association.

THE UNDERSIGNED are American citizens who believe that the sentence of Morton Sobell should now be commuted. Sobell was convicted of conspiring with others to transmit to the Soviet Union writings and information relating to the national defense of the United States and was sentenced on April 1, 1951 to serve thirty years in Federal Prison.

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3. Whether or not the judge and prosecution made sufficient efforts to provide a fair trial, we ought to recognize that the emotions surrounding the trial of the Rosenbergs and the fact that Sobell's case was tried with theirs made it difficult to separate the two cases and to recognize

the very different character of the two charges and the evidence introduced to support them respectively.

4. Sobell has already served, with good conduct, nearly eight years in prison, six of them in Alcatraz.

5. As Americans we are fully aware of the threat of communism to our freedom and way of life. Any attack on that freedom from without or within must be resisted. Nevertheless, one of the factors which makes that freedom so precious is its capacity to practice a disciplined and humane administration of justice precisely in those cases where emotions are aroused which make it difficult to remain objective about the merits of a specific case. We believe a commutation of the Sobell sentence would demonstrate our national faith in that freedom.

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DANIEL DAY WILLIAMS
Professor of Systematic Theology
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PAUL RAMSEY
Professor of Religion
Princeton University

JEROME NATHANSON
Administrative Leader
New York Society for
Ethical Culture

(Titles are for identification only.)

WHAT YOU CAN DO . . .

1. Malcolm T. Sharp's book *Was Justice Done?* (The Monthly Review Press, \$3.50) is a very good point of departure. He is a law professor at the University of Chicago. The foreword is by Dr. Harold Urey.

2. A three page statement by Dr. Paul Lehmann is available upon request. This is an enlargement of the remarks he made at the Assembly on the Sobell case.

3. Other sources: Oliver Pilat, *Atom Spies*; John Wexley, *Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg*; William Reuben *The Atom Spy Hoax*. Also refer to U. of Chicago *Law Review*, Spring 1957, Vol. 24, No. 3, p. 588; *Yale Law Journal*, Jan. 1958, Vol. 67, No. 3, p. 528; *Wayne Law Review*, Winter 1956, Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 85.

4. Form a group of faculty and students to talk this through, seeking to bring the intelligence, information and convictions of the group to bear on this concrete issue of justice.

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The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell
940 Broadway, N. Y. C. AL 4-9983

NOTE: The following comments on the Morton Sobell case by Dr. Paul Lehmann of the Harvard Divinity School are being sent by the intercollegian, student YMCA-YWCA publication, in response to requests for more information about the trial and imprisonment of Mr. Sobell.

MORTON SOBELL: SYMBOL OF THE
CHRISTIAN'S CONCERN FOR JUSTICE

The Christian's concern for justice is a basic response to what the God revealed to us in Jesus Christ and described in the Bible is doing in the world. Images get to the heart of the matter more quickly than do concepts, and a careful reading of the Bible will disclose that the characteristic images in terms of which the Bible describes what God is doing in the world are political images. They are political images in the fundamental sense of the word "political"; for politics has to do with what it takes to make and to keep human life human. The God of the Bible is thus at work in the world "to destroy and to overthrow, to build and to plant" (Jeremiah 1:10); "he has gathered the proud in the imagination of their hearts, he has put down the mighty from their thrones, and exalted those of low degree" (Luke 1:51-52); he chooses "what is low and despised in the world, even things that are not, to bring to nothing things that are, so that no human being might boast in the presence of God" (1 Corinthians 1:28-29). In this context, justice is the setting right of what is not right in the world, the breaking down of every barrier to the fulfillment of human wholeness and the making room for what is genuinely human in the relations of men in their dealings with themselves and with one another.

Morton Sobell was convicted and sentenced to prison in the wake of the trial, convictions and sentencing of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg (1951-53). His case has been called "the outstanding example of the serious lasting effects of the spy scare". The precepts and processes of justice are the right and proper instruments through which human societies order the common life, and endeavor both to protect and to further man's humanity as against his inhumanity to man. But in the actual exercise of justice, human societies not infrequently subordinate the claims of justice to the interests of power, and from time to time in the course of human affairs the destructive impulses and capacities of men, their hatreds and their fears, become compounded with irrational, deep and widespread insecurity, so that the very procedures and structures of justice become the instruments of the miscarriage of justice. I say "miscarriage" not because all legal processes have not been duly exercised and the judgment of wise and learned jurists asked. But a "miscarriage of justice" arises because the rules of legal evidence and the more delicate, difficult and fundamental human evidence are at variance, if not in conflict, the one with the other. The maxim "beyond reasonable doubt", designed to keep a healthy tension between the legal and the human evidence when the question of justice or injustice is up, proves under conditions of public hysteria to be a slender reed upon which a society can rest its conscience and its peace.

All this may be granted by non-Christians as well as by Christians. Indeed, non-Christians have often been more sensitive to the cleavage between legal and human evidence in matters of justice than Christians have been. Nevertheless, the authentic response of Christian faith to what God is doing in the world is nowhere more evident than in the persistent and restless sensitivity to miscarriages of justice which cannot come to peace with itself until law has once again been restored to its authentic function as an instrument for the humanization of man in his relatedness to man.

Morton Sobell was sentenced to prison for a thirty-year term in 1951. First in Leavenworth and then in Alcatraz, symbols of American punitive power at its worst, Sobell has been serving his sentence amidst rising doubts in the body politic of the United States about the evidence upon which he was actually convicted and remanded to prison. It is these rising doubts

which lift the Sobell case above the level of the processes whereby injustice can be legally redressed, and transfer it to a level of symbolic significance of the sanity, stability and integrity of the common life in the United States. It is this symbolic significance which sharply juxtaposes the power of the state and the human significance of an individual citizen. It is this symbolic significance which sharply poses the question whether any society can safely allow a serious malfeasance of justice to continue without redress. It is this symbolic significance which sharply poses the question whether Morton Sobell has not in the last analysis been caught up by forces which are so vastly more powerful and ominous than he, or his deeds or misdeeds could possibly be, so that the humanistic foundations of justice in a society which has imprisoned him are at stake.

In a time of conformity, when non-conformity is a risk, students and their campuses do not need - above all things - the antidote of causes. What they need above all things is to remember that human creativity has always been high when men have kept sensitive to what was immediately around them and out of joint. Whether one come to the conclusion that the Sobell case should be reviewed or not, that Morton Sobell should be pardoned by executive clemency or not, a serious study and discussion of the issues and the significance of Morton Sobell's ordeal may well serve as an unforgettable undergraduate experience in what it takes to be and to stay a human being in this kind of world.

Whether or not Sobell is a Christian, I do not know. It does not matter. Christ died - not for Christians only - but for the ungodly, that is, for all men, Christians included. As God in Christ makes no conditions for forgiving men their sins and including them in fellowship with Him, so Christians make no conditions for their obedient concern for all sorts and conditions of men. The Christian doctrines of the Incarnation and Atonement mean nothing so much as that God who is revealed in Christ is active and at work on the frontiers of man's humanity to man. Student YM and YWCA's have lost their real excuse for being unless they are steadily responsive to what God is doing on that frontier. Thus it comes about that Morton Sobell is the next-door neighbor of every campus YM and YWCA, who confronts them out of a great silence with the question of the integrity of their obedience to what God is doing in the world.

The basic factual materials for a discussion of the issues and significance of the Sobell case are of course the trial record itself. This can be obtained from the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell at 940 Broadway, New York 10, New York. But this record is long and tedious and perhaps not the most rewarding way to begin to understand the case. For this purpose the book by Professor Malcolm T. Sharp, of the Faculty of Law at the University of Chicago, entitled *Was Justice Done?*, New York, 1956, The Monthly Review Press, is the best point of departure. I could imagine groups of faculty and students under the leadership of the campus YM and YWCA spending a series of evenings in fruitful discussion of Professor Sharp's book, and going on from there as the discussion pointed the way. In some such way as this, intelligence, information, and conviction could be brought to bear upon one concrete issue of justice in our present society, and some glimpse be gained of what it means to live not in conformity, but in the freedom of a transforming faith.

Paul Lehmann
Harvard Divinity School
March, 1959

TEXT OF STATEMENT ON THE MORTON SOBELL CASE

By CARLETON BEALS,

Author, lecturer, authority on Mexico and the Carribean area, and former consultant to the U. S. government on Mexican affairs. Mr. Beals calls Sobell's conviction a "brazen denial of elementary rights" and "so absurd it is incredible" in the following letter to Mrs. Morton Sobell.

Dear Mrs. Sobell:

Thank you for sending me the transcript of the "conspiracy" trial which resulted in your husband being sentenced to thirty years in prison and the transcript of the arguments on appeal.

I have read every word of the 1715 pages with care. Only a relatively few pages deal with testimony concerning Sobell, and they contain the testimony of only one witness, Max Elitcher. Otherwise no evidence whatever was presented against your husband.

Another brief section deals with the trip of Sobell and his wife and two children to Mexico, in an effort to prove that he was fleeing from justice.

The indictment itself contains not one mention of overt acts by Sobell, as is required by law. His attorneys were forced to enter the courtroom wholly unprepared, almost as spectators, without any knowledge of the specific charges or what evidence they might have to refute.

As a result the prosecution, by distortion, falsification and suppression, was able to give his trip to Mexico the appearance of flight. There is no doubt Sobell was laboring under considerable fear, but even had he fled to Mexico illegally, which he did not, this under law does not constitute guilt of any crime. Thus it was not brought out at the trial:

- (1) That he went to Mexico under his own name and reported to American authorities before leaving.
- (2) That he was not under indictment and was not charged with any crime when he left, only after he returned.
- (3) That he had gone legally to Mexico. In court it was stated that he had no visa, which was technically correct, thus implying he had entered Mexico illegally. Actually he had a legal tourist card, all that is required, and went through the Mexican immigration offices and customs at the border in the usual legal manner.
- (4) That he was never deported from Mexico, although an American immigration official presented evidence, wholly erroneous, to that effect.
- (5) That actually he was kidnapped with the connivance of U. S. Federal agents, was brutally beaten until unconscious, that he was taken to the border in violation of Mexican and U.S. laws and treaties.

- (6) That he was taken across the border and spirited across in the dead of night, his abductors being joined by prearrangement by a Federal marshall. That his entire family was similarly kidnapped and whisked across the border at night.
- (7) That the act was protested by the head of Mexican Immigration.
- (8) That investigations by the Mexican Consul in Laredo confirmed these criminal acts.
- (9) That the Mexican Department of Immigration and the Department of Gobernacion both provided documentary evidence, not presented at the trial, that Sobell had never been deported.

The single witness produced by the State against Sobell, Max Elitcher, was a self-confessed "prejurer" and "liar". At various times he had also been under psychoanalytical treatment.

During his testimony only two sentences remotely suggest, and these are purely hearsay, that Sobell had any connection with any alleged conspiracy. Also, Elitcher testified that one evening he accompanied Sobell on a ten minute ride to the vicinity of the accused Julius Rosenberg's New York apartment to deliver a can (contents unknown) presumably to Rosenberg. No direct evidence, either oral or material, was given at the trial that Sobell even knew any atomic secrets, or that he gave any atomic or any other secrets to Rosenberg or anybody else. His crime, as presented at the trial, seemed to consist of having been possibly a Communist and fellow-traveler, that he had been a fellow engineering student at New York City College, that over a period of ten years he had seen Rosenberg half a dozen times. He knew none of the others involved in the trial and no other witness except Elitcher. His name was not mentioned by any other witness.

In short, no oral, material or even remotely circumstantial evidence was ever presented in court to warrant his conviction or his sentencing. It is so absurd it is incredible. I know of no other instance of miscarriage of justice, or more brazen denial of elementary human rights, in the history of jurisprudence in this or any other country.

Frankly, and this may sound harsh to you given your personal interest in the matter, I started reading this transcript with the hope that I would discover evidence beyond a reasonable doubt, that he was guilty, for I was anxious to preserve my illusions concerning the noble processes of American justice.

Sincerely yours,

s/ Carleton Beals

P.S. - You are free to use this letter and my previous letter in any way you see fit.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] b7D

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We salute the brave prisoner of American imperialism, Morton Sobell!

We salute this brave American who when so many sell out their convictions and attempt to make peace with their oppressors stands firm in the Atlanta hell-hole.

Morton Sobell is innocent, as were the Rosenbergs. This we do not have to convince you of. The question is how to free him.

All the pleas of intellectuals, rabbis, ministers or journalists, regardless of their sincerity, won't free him. The only thing that will free Morton Sobell is the united force of the working class, fighting for freedom for Morton Sobell and that of all political prisoners.

The working class is the key to open the "last door" - the door to his freedom. This is where the fight must be made.

It must be a fight not only for Morton Sobell, but for all of American imperialism's political prisoners - Rosalie Ingrahm, Wesley Wells, Schumann, Albizu Campos and Collazo, the Puerto Rican nationalists, Gil Green, Henry Winston, Robert Thompson, and all those others American imperialism has victimized because of their political convictions. Let us fight back against the whole system of political prisoners and hostages.

We of the Provisional Organizing Committee pledge our all-out effort in this fight. We offer our help in mobilizing the workers behind this struggle.

FREE MORTON SOBELL!
VINDICATE THE HEROIC ROSENBERGS!
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!
MOBILIZE THE WORKING CLASS BEHIND THIS FIGHT!

Issued by: N.Y. Provisional Organizing Committee for the
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There is a *Third Side*
to the
Rosenberg-Sobell Case

IRWIN EDELMAN

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You have done a tremendous service to the
cause of human justice in preparing this material.
I am appalled at the implications. . ."*

Stephen H. Fritelman, Minister of the First Unitarian Church,
of Los Angeles, in a letter of comment dated March 5, 1958.

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. . . I want to assure you, Helen Sobell wrote him, I have the highest respect for the creative manner in which you approached the case and I only hope that you will give us the benefit of your thinking again. I assure you we will be more receptive than we have been in the past. The brutal fact remains that my husband is still in Alcatraz, still sentenced to 30 years in prison, and I must find some way to bring him home again. I need your help.

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July 1, 1959

Dear Friends:

Morton Sobell has been on my conscience for months. By chance I attended a meeting in his behalf, and there was aroused from a feeling of despair about his case, and was impelled to re-view it. I have not gone through the thousands of pages of court records, but I have confidence in Carlton Beals and others who have studied that record and believe with them that Sobell was by chance the victim of a reckless and unprincipled exploitation of the war hysteria of the time of his trial.

Recently I have read John Wexley's "The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg". That thorough and voluminous work puts into historical perspective the monstrous crime which was perpetrated on those two victims of McCarthyism in its lowest and most debased form.

As for Morton Sobell, he was dragged into the political trial which was centered on the Rosenbergs. His case had only the remotest connection with the charges against them. Even the judge, Irving Kaufman, who was not only the judge but also the most zealous prosecutor, said in his charge to the jury that the case against Sobell depended on the reliability of one witness, Max Elitcher.

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This Elitcher revealed himself as an inveterate and psycho-pathic liar and utterly unreliable. His allegation that Sobell was a member of Rosenberg "spy-ring" was never corroborated by any one else or by any tangible evidence.

Time gives a horrible perspective of the key, lying witnesses: ~~David and Ruth Greenglass, Harry Gold, and Max Elitcher.~~ It gives an even more horrible view of the diabolical work of the prosecutors: Irving Saypol, Myles Lane, Roy Cohn, and the chief prosecutor and judge Irving H. Kaufman.

All the evidence given by these self-confessed and self-convicted liars was intangible, fragmentary and fantastic. None of it was ever corroborated by any one or by any concrete evidence.

Lincoln is quoted as having said on one occasion: "To remain silent when your neighbor is unjustly persecuted is cowardice." I would feel like a coward if I did not speak out against the injustice which has been done to Morton Sobell and to his family. I can have no peace until Sobell gets redress. Moreover, redress for him would be a big, significant step toward redress for other political prisoners who are suffering "cruel and unusual punishment."

Let me suggest what you can do:

- 1) Find out for yourself what the facts are in Sobell's case.
- 2) Write President Eisenhower to ask him for a new trial for Morton Sobell, or for a commutation of his sentence.
- 3) Ask your friends to do the same, or to join with you in a letter.
- 4) Send a contribution to the Sobell Committee, 940 Broadway Room D, New York 10, N.Y.
- 5) Perhaps during vacation you can hold a private party in support of the Sobell appeal.

Yours sincerely,

Charles J. Hendley

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